

DHIRENDRANATH DASGUPTA

**FROM
MARX TO MAO**

INDIA INTERNATIONAL

CALCUTTA :INDIA

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Dedicated

To my Parents, Hridayranjan and Swarnamayee Dasgupta, long deceased, yet a constant source of inspiration to me.

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Author's Note

I was not born in a free country nor were my ancestors. Before the coming of the British as the ruling power, India had already been for five hundred years under Muslim domination. Muslim invaders had come, conquered and settled down as rulers of the country and thus became a part of India in every walk of life. In contrast, the British were aliens to the Indians in every way.

“The loss of his old world with no gains of a new one”, wrote Marx in a letter dated 10 June, 1853, “imparts a peculiar kind of melancholy to the present misery of the Hindu and separates Hindustan ruled by Britain, from all its ancient traditions and from the whole of its past history.”

On 10 May, 1857, there started in Hindustan a mighty upsurge which shook the British empire to its very foundation. This movement had its first birth pangs in Bengal when Mongol Pandey died in Barrackpore to be the first martyr of the then nascent sepooy uprising.

The event exercised a spell on India's patriotic emotions and led to the birth of the Bengal Revolutionary Movement in the last decade of the 19th century.

Man is the child of his times. Contemporary movements and streams of thought have a great impact on the mind of a young man. In response to the call of my environments the greatest urge in me in the early 20th century was to achieve the freedom of the country—to free my motherland from the shackles of British imperialism. So, no wonder that early in 1927, I became a revolutionary.

I dreamt only of the glory of liberating my motherland and there were moments when I experienced a kind of mystic

communion with Mother India, when I felt glad that, if I could do nothing more, at least I would join all those martyrs who had died before me.

But it was an embittering shock to find how my school-mates involved in the Chittagong uprising (popularly known as the Chittagong Armoury Raid) had to hang on to hills and paddy fields exhausted and hungry—without support from the local people, hopping from ruin to ruin, lying dead in pools of blood, killed by bullets of policemen and troops who were our own countrymen.

Frustrated by years of failure, I lost faith in terrorism and found a new hope and meaning in Mahatma Gandhi's Congress and felt a sense of identity with his Mass Civil Disobedience and Quit India movements.

Subhas Chandra Bose, who advocated more militant means of achieving independence and formed the Forward Bloc, injected into me a maddening zeal. His disappearance and call to India as Head of the Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauz) to fight a war of liberation created a spiritual tumult in me. Liberation had only one meaning to me then, and that was liberation from the white man's dominance. Netaji became a mysterious and fabulous hero.

India was on the march to independence and it came but only amidst the communal frenzy in the wake of the Great Calcutta Killing. The Muslims with British backing sliced out a part of the country for themselves. India was partitioned. Uprooted humanity, victims of communal riots, crossed the borders and became refugees in India and Pakistan. However, some oneness still lingers, despite animosities, across the borders.

I was worried a great deal about the state of the nation. After the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi, political loyalty to the Indian National Congress could not beget any spirit of dedication. With the disappearance of the cause and the leader, youthful ardour for sacrifice and suffering also came to an end. The low, self-loving politics of the Congress Party demoralised its

followers. Young men who stayed on were there by habit or by inertia. They toiled on without inspiration at the behest of professional politicians. Forces of evil got entrenched and those of virtue and goodness with the true Gandhian urges to create a better society, lost ground. Workers turned towards official patronage and support. Cut off from the masses, they were unable to face or tackle a situation and to work on the grass root level.

I have always been amenable to new ideas. At this stage, I discovered a new ideology in Communism, and in Marx, the creator of an authentic philosophy by which the world could be remade.

The animation of the Communist leadership and activation of the masses that I witnessed in mainland China in 1954 appeared to me to be a remarkable feat in the light of the situation in India where, as individuals, we had been sunk in the morass of an authoritarian social system and an overbearing government.

But the new love was not there to stay. I studied deeply the theories of Communism and watched keenly the practices of the Communist countries. The result, a hard second look, spelt disenchantment for me.

Humanity's age-old aspiration had sought fulfilment in Marxism. But was the dream of the great nineteenth century humanist capable of realisation in the practical world of politics? Did a philosophic system that had taken shape in a corner of the British Museum become corrupt when it was transformed into the means of overthrowing a state machinery? The answer, I admitted sadly to myself, was an undeniable "yes".

Marxism, as worked out by Marx and Engels, I think, suffered distortions when Lenin said that what the people wanted was not liberty but power and when Stalin and Mao set themselves to the task of seizing power. The lights of liberalisation and personal freedom were dimmed under the

Stalinist or Maoist control over the apparatus of power. I found that Communism, instead of turning out to be a panacea for man's sorrows, had become a means of enslaving man, of restricting his thinking and shifting his emotions.

As an observer and analyst of history and the forces that propel it, I think I am justified in doubting the relevance of ideologies—both capitalist and communist—for the contemporary world.

According to Marx, the proletariat needed a state to wither away the state. But Lenin seized the state to organise the proletariat as a ruling class.

The stateless, classless society as contemplated by Marx is possible only when the whole of humanity turns into a complete ethical being, i.e., every individual becomes himself the embodiment of law and justice. Otherwise it is the same old order since one class is emerging in place of another.

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Since 1954, I have done a lot of travelling both in the East and the West. I wrote a number of articles on my travel impressions. Each is a single, separate article but together they form a single whole—an integrated study of the basic issue of the day.

Having been a journalist most of my working life, I have tried to maintain objectivity in my analysis. However, man is a prisoner of his experiences and it is only natural that others will view the problem from their own angles.

Dhirendranath Dasgupta

Let My Country Awake

*Where the mind is without fear and the head is held
high ;
Where knowledge is free ;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
by narrow domestic walls ;
Where words come out from the depth of truth ;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms toward
perfection ;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way
into the dreary desert sand of dead habit ;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widen-
ing thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my
country awake.*

—Rabindranath Tagore
(from 'Gitanjali')

1

**WARRING
WORLD OF
THE REDS**

The changes we see in the world today are intellectual, moral, physical in their ideal and intention : the spiritual revolution waits for its hour and throws up meanwhile its waves here and there. Until it comes, the sense of the others cannot be understood and till then all interpretations of present happening and forecast of man's future are vain things. For its nature, power, event are that which will determine the next cycle of our humanity.

Sri Aurobindo

The system of colonialism was swept off the stage of history by the mighty upsurge of national liberation movements after the Second World War and a dozen new sovereign states appeared on the map of Asia and Africa. The most powerful force then at work was nationalism. Now it is faced with a challenge in Communism.

“Philosophers merely explained the world in different ways ; the point is, however, to change it.” This idea, expressed one hundred and twenty years ago by Karl Marx, is the key to the Communist ideology. Communists believe that “the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought not in men’s brains, nor in men’s better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy but in the economics of each particular epoch.” The main economic principle of Communism is “from each according to his ability, to each according to his need.”

The official Communist movement grew out of the Russian Revolution of 1917 that led to the founding of the Soviet Union. Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, better known to the world as Lenin, was the organiser and founder of the world’s first socialist State.

Lenin was born on April 22, 1870. He was the third child in Ilyn and Maria Ulyanov’s family of six. In 1887 his elder brother, Alexander, was hanged for his part in a plot to assassinate Tsar Alexander III. Lenin was arrested in 1895 and banished to Siberia for three years. In 1900 he emigrated, and except for brief visits to Russia between 1905 and 1907 he remained abroad. In February 1917, after the Tsarist autocracy was overthrown in Russia, Lenin returned to his country. On the night of April 3, he arrived at Petrograd from Switzerland via Germany. From the turret of an armoured car Lenin addressed his countrymen, exhorting them to fight for a new, socialist revolution, for the power of the working people, for the power of the Soviets.

The Provisional Government headed by Kerensky, which came to power after the overthrow of the Tsar, declared Lenin an outlaw. Lenin went into hiding in Finland.

On the night of October 25, Lenin issued orders for an immediate attack on the Winter Palace—the seat of the Kerensky Government. The historic gunshot from the cruiser *Aurora* gave the signal for the attack. The same night the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets proclaimed all power to the Soviets. The Congress formed the world's first government of workers and peasants. It was headed by Lenin.

Lenin moved into the Kremlin flat in 1918, when the Soviet Government moved from Petrograd to Moscow. In 1956 I had the thrill of stepping into the room in which Lenin worked until illness forced him to retire to a palace at Gorky, near Moscow. The room with the desk he used, maps on the walls, half-burnt candles, the telephone receivers, is guarded like a shrine.

Lenin became partially paralysed after a stroke in 1922 and died in January 1924.

His slight body lies embalmed in a glass case at a mausoleum on Red Square.

Lenin was initially a Social Democrat. The Russian Social Democratic Party was founded by the first Russian Marxist, G. V. Plekhanov, in 1898. After the division in 1903 within the Party at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democrats in London into the Bolsheviks (majority faction), and the Mensheviks, Lenin headed the Bolsheviks.

The main dispute in the Congress arose out of a qualification formula for party membership. Lenin demanded "personal participation in one of the party organisations," while his friend Martov was satisfied with "regular personal assistance under the aegis of one of its (i.e. the party's) organisations." The decision, arising out of this minor difference to divide the party, was very important for Lenin, who realised that for his goal of revolution, he needed a party of professional revolutionaries. The victory of the Russian Revolution gave

Lenin the leadership of socialist action. He changed the name of the Bolshevik Party into the Communist Party in 1918 and founded the Third International or Comintern next year. Henceforth, the term Communism has meant the beliefs of the adherents to the parties founded under the aegis of the Comintern.

Karl Marx, writing in the 19th century, assigned the great task of leading the struggle for social transformation to the working class—the proletariat—after a masterly analysis of the capitalist system in which “while the means of production keep changing, the social structure does not keep pace with it. Then crisis grips society and revolution results.” The Russian acclimatization of Marxism was Lenin’s supreme achievement. He insisted that the workers, the leading force in this revolution, must have the peasants as their allies in the struggle.

The mould Marxism was given in the Soviet Union is called Leninism. Lenin elaborated the teachings of Marx through his analysis of imperialism and his belief that the revolution of the proletariat, though historically inevitable, must be organised by a party of professional revolutionaries. Poverty, in his view, by itself does not lead to Communism. The organisation of political discontent, leading to the ultimate overthrow of the existing social order, is the specific task of the Communist parties of the world.

All Communists profess loyalty in theory and practice to Marxism as interpreted by Lenin in his writings. Therefore, Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical foundation of Communism.

History knows of many men of genius, but none so extraordinary perhaps as Marx and Engels, whose theories, enriched by Lenin’s revolutionary passion and immense organisational talent, have generated the most powerful explosive force ever known in history and turned the 20th century into an age of socialist revolution.

Socrates was destroyed by a decaying society, whose rulers could not tolerate enlightened examination of their ways and

belief. It was because rulers' nature had not changed much since the Athenians had condemned Socrates to die that upheavals and revolutions became a historical necessity and later Rousseau's doctrine led to the French Revolution of 1789. The thoughts of Thomas Paine inspired Americans to throw off the British yoke, the egalitarian theories of Mill and Bentham gave impetus to the growth of the democratic spirit in England. But their preachings remained confined within the intelligentsia. Marxism-Leninism flowed out of the study of the erudite, burst upon mankind into the streets and mobilised the wills of milling millions to action.

According to the late King Farouk's (of Egypt) forecast the world would eventually be left with five crowned heads : four in the pack of cards and one in London. Long before him and even twenty-five years before the First World War, Engels made a remarkable prophecy : "Eight to ten million soldiers will massacre one another and in doing so devour the whole of Europe - crowns will roll by the dozens on the pavements, and there will be nobody to pick them up. There will be general exhaustion and conditions will arise for the establishment of the victory of the working classes. My Lords, Princes and statesmen : nothing will remain to you..." Engels' prophecy partly came true when in the wake of World War I the triumph of the Great October Revolution established the rule of the working class in Russia in 1917.

"Socialism looks at us through all the windows of capitalism". Lenin said, and the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the inevitability of socialist revolution in all countries has influenced the lives of millions ; millions of working people have risen in the revolutionary struggle leading many a nation into the grip of destruction or of destiny.

The founders of Communist ideas, Marx and Engels, called the initial phase of Communism—Socialism. The concept of Communism is usually used to denote the highest stage of this system. Communism grows out of Socialism. Socialism and Communism have the same economic foundation—public ownership of the means of production. The substantial

difference between Socialism and Communism lies, primarily, in the level of the development of productive forces. The scope and technical level of production is still insufficient under Socialism to ensure the full satisfaction of the requirements of members of society. That is why distribution of most of the things in life is effected under Socialism in proportion to the work done by each member: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Certain socio-economic and cultural inequalities persist under Socialism. There still exist classes under Socialism--the working class, the peasantry as well as a special group of intellectuals. But there is no hostility or antagonistic contradiction among them. They are all united by the common goal of building a Communist society. The transition from capitalism to Socialism requires the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will protect the socialist system and suppress attempts to restore the old regime. The State will wither away under Communism.

The country first to break the shackles of imperialism and step on the path of Socialism--the United Soviet Socialist Republic--naturally became the centre of the world Communist movement. Its security and survival became the *sine qua non* of the emancipation of the world from capitalism and the final victory of Socialism.

Lenin said, "Capital is an international force. To vanquish it an international union of workers, an international workers' fraternity is necessary." It, therefore, became the sole task of the working class and toilers of the world and of all Communist parties to work with all their might and means to strengthen the USSR and to fight its enemies both in peace and war. Moscow was viewed both as the ideological model and centre of proletarian power. To Communists everywhere allegiance to Communism was synonymous with loyalty to the Soviet Union, and Russian leaders, on their part, laid down the political line which was to be followed by all world Communist parties without exception. This was called proletarian internationalism.

The hegemony of the Soviet Union continued till World War II which sharply tilted the balance of world forces in favour of Socialism. Communist States were established in Yugoslavia, as in some other East European countries, and China. But Marshal Josip Broz Tito and Chairman Mao Tse-tung refused to don Marxist attire as tailored in Moscow.

Marshal Tito's conflict with Stalin started in 1948. Titoism—the brand of independent and nationalist Communism adopted by Yugoslavia,—became the first major threat to Russian-dominated Communism. Stalin branded the Yugoslavs as Bukharinites and Trotskyites, traitors and agents of imperialism; and he denounced Titoism as a heresy. He boasted, "I shall shake my little finger and there will be no Tito." (*Stalin: A Political Biography* by Issac Deutscher, Page 578).

Yugoslavia was expelled from the "Socialist camp". The situation became tense on her borders. Even armed incidents took place at that time. But the people were united and Yugoslavia started to progress along a new, original road of socialist transformation.

The first and the most important legal act in this direction was enacted in 1950. The People's Assembly of Yugoslavia passed a law on the introduction of workers' management in enterprises. Workers were given the right to manage their enterprises. This marked the beginning of a deeper transformation of society, a break-off with the supreme role of the State and was the main instrument in the struggle of the working class against the bureaucratization of social relations.

Workers' management in Yugoslav enterprises was extended to the whole community later. Just as the workers manage their factories and determine what and how much will be produced, how much capital will be invested and the like, physicians similarly manage hospitals, employees institutions, teachers secondary schools, and so forth.

The country's political system—the system of socialist democracy—grew from such relations. It is based on the sys-

tem of communes, local communities governed by assemblies composed of citizens' representatives and representatives of working organizations. The communes deal in principle with all questions within their competence, adopt their statutes which are of the nature of small constitutions. Yugoslavia at present has five hundred communes.

The communes elect their representatives to higher bodies—the Republican and Federal Parliaments. They consist of five chambers each. Their members are elected by citizens, either directly or indirectly. The Federal Parliament unites the work of all sections of the Yugoslav self-governed society.

In the system of a socialist democracy whose aim is to direct and enable every citizen and every worker to pattern his life, a prominent place belongs to socio-political organisations, primarily the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance, the Trade Unions, youth and other organizations.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia substantially differs from other Communist parties in its views about the role of the party in Socialism. Its role is reduced to that of an ideological leader of the working class and the working people of Yugoslavia and this role is exercised through everyday work of the Communists at their working posts through the organs of workers' management and the parliamentary mechanism. Yugoslavia is against commitment to any power bloc and she considers that the future of world politics lies in co-operation among all states, regardless of their internal political system. The Yugoslavs consider coexistence as one of the main principles for relations among states, just as they consider the principle of independence, sovereignty and autonomy as one of the lasting component parts of this policy.

Mao's China has now emerged as one of the most dynamic, yet disruptive, influence in the Socialist camp.

Mao has challenged the Soviet hegemony in the world

revolutionary movement. Chen Po-ta and Lu Ting-i, two prominent Chinese ideological writers, claimed Mao Tse-tung's thought as "development of Marxism-Leninism in the East." According to them, the classical type of revolution in imperialist countries is the October Revolution and the Chinese revolution is the classical model for all subsequent revolutions in all backward areas in the East.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is one of the most powerful of the new ideas which are on the march today in Asia.

But Soviet party leaders quote the Comintern programme of fifty years ago to assert that the Soviet Union is the "base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the centre of international revolution, its motive power, and the greatest factor in world history". (*Mirovaya Ekonomika I Mezdunarodnyye Otnosheniya*, No. 3, 1969, p 16).

As a result, the two Communist giants started falling out with each other.

Russia, reacting to this unprecedented challenge, summoned summit conferences to rebuild unity. But one of these world conferences held in Moscow as late as June 5—17, 1969, only confirmed that a spectre was haunting Communism, the spectre of its own split image.

The intentions of the Soviet party leaders in staging the Moscow summit conference were :

- i) to restore the CPSU's leading role in the world Communist movement.
- ii) to secure the censure of the Chinese Communist leaders and their excommunication from the Communist movement, and
- iii) finally, to persuade the delegates that the Soviet model of Communism is the only viable one.

Not only did they fail to include a condemnation of China in the final resolution and to restore the Soviet Union's prominent position in the Communist world, but the outspoken criticism

of the Kremlin's political course disclosed lack of common aims among the world's Communists.

The Moscow conference of 1969 cannot be considered to represent the voice of the world Communist movement as the absentees included many amongst those who had attended the 1960 summit conference.

They were the Communist parties of China, Albania, Vietnam, North Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Burma, Malaysia, Thailand, Nepal, New Zealand, Holland and the Irish Republic. It exposed irreconcilable differences even among those of the 75 parties which had attended the conference. The non-participation of such world figures as Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, Fidel Castro and Tito merely highlighted the deep discord in the leadership of the contemporary Communist world and showed that the Communist movement could no longer be compressed into the framework of a centralised organisation.

The final resolution dealing with the vexed question of the autonomy of national Communist parties and sovereignty of socialist states against the background of occupation of Czechoslovakia had a rider added to it. The Soviet-inspired draft was as follows :

"Each Communist party is responsible for its activity before its working class and nation and, at the same time, before the international working class. The national and international responsibility of each Communist and workers' party are indivisible."

The following statement was added to it :

The participants in the conference affirm their common position with regard to the fact that the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity and mutual support, of respect for the independence and equality of rights and non-interference in each other's internal affairs are the basis of mutual relations between the fraternal parties. The strict observance of these principles is the essential condition for the development of comradely

co-operation between the fraternal parties... All parties have equal rights.

A further rebuff to the CPSU Central Committee was the reference by E. Berlinguer, head of the Italian delegation, to the "errors" of the Soviet and Chinese leaders in showing a "tendency to conceal or, on the other hand, to accentuate differences of opinion and, equally, a tendency to explain their existence solely by references to "departure" from the line of doctrinal purity, although it is difficult enough to understand who should be its custodian." (*Pravda*, June 14, 1969)

The conference refused to censure the Chinese party leaders and Mao Tse-tung's policies in the final resolution, despite Brezhnev's insistence that Peking's belligerent attitude posed a threat to the world Communist movement. The final resolution stated :

... the declaration that Communist and workers' parties are outside the law is an attempt on the democratic rights and basic interests of the people. The participants in the Conference support all the world's Communist parties, without exception... the non-participation in it of certain Communist parties must not disturb the fraternal ties and co-operation between all Communist and workers' parties, without exception.

It is now apparent that the era of the Russian brand of official Communism has definitely ended and the Soviet Union appears to be desperately trying to reorganise and consolidate its empire and is particularly as worried as anyone else about Chairman Mao's China. The Soviet Communist Party First Secretary, L. I. Brezhnev, described his Chinese comrades at the Moscow conference as a "bunch of hooligans" and advocated the need for a preventive war to destroy the 'heretics'.

The Chinese Communist Party, which now claims hegemony in the world Communist movement, is asserting that the centre of the world revolutionary movement has shifted to Asia, and that "the wind from the East is stronger than the wind from the West."

The Soviet Union warned that "Maoism was trying to divide people according to the colour of their skin and where they live and was acting contrary to Lenin's teaching."

The yawning Sino-Soviet split considerably pained President Ho Chi Minh, the great Vietnamese leader and an outstanding fighter of the international Communist movement. The national liberation movement that engulfed the entire colonial world during and after the Second World War, threw up many magnificent revolutionary heroes as leaders and spokesmen of the oppressed people. Ho Chi Minh was one of the foremost amongst them. He died on September 3, 1969. In his will read out before the international Communist leaders gathered at his funeral service on September 9 in Hanoi, he lamented that "having dedicated my whole life to the cause of world revolution, I am aggrieved to see the differences that are dividing the fraternal socialist parties."

The life-long votary of Communism called on the feuding socialist countries of the world to unite. The Kremlin listened to the Asian leader's deathbed plea and, following his funeral, Soviet Premier Alexei N. Kosygin made a sudden 3000-mile detour on September 11, 1969, to meet his Chinese opposite number Chou En-lai at Peking airport. The meeting—the first since 1965—was the last-minute effort by both sides to halt a march of their countries towards full-scale military confrontation.

Mr. Kosygin, it was reported, initially approached Mr. Le Duan, First Secretary of North Vietnam's Workers Party, with the proposal for the meeting. Rumanian and other Communist representatives then present in Hanoi supported the move. Mr. Le Duan passed on the proposal to the Chinese Vice-Premier, Mr. Li Hsien-nien, who was attending Ho's funeral. Mr. Chou En-lai had suddenly left Hanoi before Mr. Kosygin's arrival. Mr. Li transmitted the idea to Peking.

Mr. Kosygin's brief encounter with Mr. Chou En-lai at Peking airport, which appeared on the inside page of the *People's Daily*, as an eight-line, two-paragraph, 77-word item, has not, after all, been entirely barren. An agreement to hold talks about

the tense, 7200-km border, scene of bloody clashes, was reached. China wants Russia to admit that more than 1.5 million sq kilometers of the present Russian territory was stolen from a weak and helpless China by the Russian Tsars. This is one of the key issues involved in the Sino-Soviet border talks which opened at Peking on October 20, 1969 at Deputy Foreign Ministers' level. The Chinese have said they do not expect the return of all this territory, acquired by what they call "unequal treaties" imposed on imperial China. But the Chinese appear to be adamant in their insistence that the Russians admit that the land once belonged to China. The founder of the Russian State, Lenin, not only admitted this but also "advocated the annulment of these unequal treaties," the Chinese have declared repeatedly. So, the Chinese said, had Marx and Engels. Peking appears to be interested in mending its fences with Moscow, at least to the extent of removing the danger of war. It is good if the two countries could strike a reasonable posture and realised that their interest lay in the direction of an *entente*—even if it means burying for the time being, their ideological differences as Stalin did when he signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact with Hitler on August 23, 1939.

The opposing weight of the Chinese and the Russians has provoked in-fighting within Communist parties in almost every country and, as a result Communist parties have been organisationally divided everywhere.

Ho Chi Minh with his stature was able to steer a middle course between Moscow and Peking and was "in the enviable position of a girl being wooed by two suitors". With Ho gone, if the Vietnamese leaders fail to avoid involvement in the Sino-Soviet tussle, the course of the Vietnam war may be adversely affected.

Geography postulates that Hanoi should continue to be on good terms with the Chinese. Truong Chinh, the party's chief ideologist, who shares the Chinese conviction that a slow, patient, protracted war is the sure way to eventual victory, wants to go on fighting indefinitely, as the negotiations go on in Paris just

as Mao himself did with Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists after World War II. They are confident of victory in the face of the declining self-confidence of the enemy (American) side.

Close on the heels of the *impromptu* meeting of the premiers of the two countries in Peking, the Soviet journal, *Za Ruberzhom*, accused China of sending a "blackmailing" telegram to Ho Chi Minh two days before the Vietnamese President's death demanding that North Vietnam renounce all Soviet aid in its fight against "American imperialism".

A Moscow broadcast alleged that Mao secretly assured the U.S.A. that China would not intervene in Vietnam, and that Peking's help for the Vietnamese had not only been paltry but also vital aid shipments to North Vietnam were carried away by Red Guards and other activists during Mao's Cultural Revolution. Moscow hopes to make Vietnam its kingpin in its efforts to win friends in South-East Asia and reduce China's influence in its own backyard.

Sino-Soviet polemics are mounting and it is alleged that Russia wants to keep U.S. involvement in South-East Asia by all means, since it takes some Chinese heat off it. There is a genuine apprehension in Hanoi that the escalating conflict between the Russians and the Chinese may degenerate into a large-scale war. She fears, such a war will torpedo the Vietnamese Communist struggle for which they are "making flesh-and-blood contributions on the front line against imperialism." First, it would cut off the principal Russian supply route through China to North Vietnam, thereby forcing the Russians to ship their vital military and economic aid less efficiently by sea.

Secondly, it would place North Vietnamese leaders in the difficult position of having to choose between Moscow and Peking.

Had the Soviet Union and China remained united, socialist ideology could have ruled the world. But being at loggerheads, they threaten, instead, world peace. Communism does no

longer have a sharp well-marked geographical habitat and the world no longer is divided into East and West. And the cold war has now in its grip China and Russia.

The visit to Rumania on July 31, 1969, by "arch-imperialist" Richard M. Nixon brought that country into international spotlight. In utter defiance of Moscow, Bucharest has remained neutral in the Sino-Soviet feud, established diplomatic relation with West Germany, displayed sympathy with Israel and is energetically enlarging its area of intercourse with the West.

By affirming its loyalty to the Warsaw Pact, Rumania hopes to avoid the challenge that provoked the Soviet Union's invasion of Hungary in 1956. By rejecting internal liberalisation she hopes to avoid the challenge that brought about the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The Communists in Rumania are proud of their language, their Mediterranean connection, and the imitation Paris boulevards and cafes of their capital. They have changed the spelling of their country's name from the vaguely Slovak "Rumania" back to the Latin "Romania." "We are a Latin Island in a sea of Slavs," every Rumanian will love to tell you.

President Nicolae Ceausescu called the invasion of Czechoslovakia a "flagrant violation of the national sovereignty of a fraternal socialist, free and independent State." He stated at the 10th Rumania Communist Congress of August 6, 1969, that by world socialism "we understand not a bloc in which States give up their national sovereignty. Socialist solidarity presupposes equality."

But the Soviet Union reminded the Rumanian leader that the Kremlin considered itself entitled to punish dissidents in the socialist bloc. Mr. Konstanlin, a Soviet Communist Party secretary, said that the Soviet people fully supported Brezhnev's declaration that the Soviet would make all efforts to preserve Socialism in Communist countries. This has an obvious reference to the so-called Brezhnev doctrine of limited

sovereignty for socialist countries which was used to justify the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Brezhnev said : "The sovereignty of each socialist country is based on the right and obligation of the Soviet Union to intervene in other socialist countries when socialist fundamentals are endangered."

No wonder that Rumania is scared, nay, frightened—frightened enough to invite Nixon to warn the Soviet Union that, if needed, a deal with imperialism as a security step is not ruled out by her.

East German "hardliners" are trying to persuade Moscow to apply also to Yugoslavia the Brezhnev doctrine of "limited sovereignty."

President Tito and President Ceausescu after the seventh meeting between the two leaders in three years in a communique issued on September 20, 1969, called for a conference of European states on security and co-operation. Both countries are pursuing foreign and domestic policies independent of the Soviet Union. Yugoslavia was highly critical of the Warsaw Pact powers' invasion of Czechoslovakia and Rumania was the only member country of the Pact to refuse to take part in the invasion.

At the western end of the Soviet bloc, the armies of the Soviet Union are sitting on 12,000,000 Czech Slovaks who already hate them and may soon come to hate what they stand for.

The Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences published a document under the title *Seven Days in Prague* giving a detailed eye-witness account of the Soviet-led occupation of Czechoslovakia which it later repudiated acting, obviously, under strong Moscow pressure. I quote below extracts from an article by Cecil Eprile published in *Hindustan Standard* on November 28, 1969, giving the record of the victims' description of crimes during the occupation. (The book has been reprinted in India by the Committee for Defence of Czechoslovakia and published

on their behalf by the Hindusthan Book Agency: Price Rs. 6/-).

It happened on the Cyril and Methodious Square in the Karlin district of Prague. An armoured car belonging to the Soviet occupation forces approached a house where a boy, about fifteen years of age, was painting on the wall in the Russian alphabet the most common slogan of these days: Go home! The machine-gunner riding on the vehicle pointed his gun towards the boy. This was observed by a woman pushing a baby carriage. In the naive hope that the occupiers might be compassionate, she took her six-month-old child in her arms and stood by the boy. The occupier murdered all three with a single burst of his gun. —From *Lidova Demokracie*, 9th extra edition, August 27, 1968.

The funeral parlour of the Strasnice crematorium is a place of last farewells. But this is no ordinary funeral. Zdenek Prihoda was 27 years old. He carried no flag in his hand. He was not handing out leaflets. He was doing nothing to provoke a sub-machine gun. On the first day of the occupation, he was sitting quietly on his motor bike at the end of Vinohradska Street, waiting for an occupation truck and two armoured vehicles to pass him. He did not live to see it; the last vehicle did not pass him by in peace. Its driver decided to kill. Brutally, and recklessly, he shot the young man. Deliberately, eye-witnesses say. Then he sped away.—From *Zemedelske Noviny*, August 27, 1968.

These two extracts come from a book, *The Czech Black Book*, (edited by Robert Littell. Frederick A. Praeger. \$6.95) published in May, 1969.

in New York, which gives an eye-witness, documented account of the invasion of Czechoslovakia; and they are among a number of reports in the book which show how brutal the invaders could be. Originally printed in Czech last year under the title *Seven Days in Prague*, and secretly circulated throughout Czechoslovakia, it was translated into English and given wider distribution to refute the Soviet *White Book* which attempted to justify Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. The editor of *The Black Book*, Robert Littell (a *Newsweek* general editor and co-author of the recently published book, *If Israel Lost the War*, brought a copy of the original document out of Czechoslovakia.

By Saturday, August 24, 1968, the fourth day of the occupation, there were about thirty dead and 300 wounded in the Czechoslovak capital, according to documents of the National Assembly quoted in the book. If these figures don't begin to compare with, say, the thousands of Hungarians killed by Russian tanks in Budapest in October, 1956, the Czechs claim they put up no physical resistance because "we had only our bare hands."

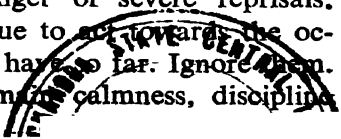
There was however "a spontaneous" expression of psychological resistance on the part of the unarmed Czechoslovaks" which "morally disrupted the occupation force" by showing that "it is possible to face down even the mightiest army with calm and common sense." The book tells the detailed story of that psychological resistance.

"Do not harm a hair of their heads but do not give them a drop of water" was the slogan on a wall in Prague. A joint proclamation by the National Assembly, the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Central

Trade Union Council, addressed to all working people (in a broadcast on August 26), called for symbolic short term work stoppages of a few minutes but counselled against longer strikes.

Passive resistance, the book reminds us, took many forms. On Wenceslas Square (in Prague) "the occupiers tried to play the collaborationist radio station over the public address system but the people in the Square responded by whistling until the ears of the occupiers must have hurt." In Prague, too, hundreds of thousands of people destroyed corner street signs, number plates on houses and even name plates of apartment residents so that "the mailman will find us but evildoers won't." Prague (said another Czechoslovak newspaper report) is "like one huge poster: 'Occupiers go home'."

Written in Czech and Russian, another poster (the fame of which has gone round the world) said: "Ivan, go back home quickly: Your Natasha is going steady with Kolya. Love, mother." A new version of "The Ten Commandments" for the occupied read: 1. don't know; 2. don't care; 3. don't tell; 4. don't have; 5. don't know how to; 6. don't give; 7. can't do; 8. don't sell; 9. don't show; 10. do nothing.

But a communique on the session held on the fourth and fifth days of the occupation by the Presidium of the City Committee of the National Front in Prague, warning the people that to distribute leaflets, printed material and posters involved a danger of severe reprisals, advised them: "Continue to act towards the occupation armies as you have so far. Ignore them. Our chief weapons remain calmness, discipline and levelheadedness." 

In compiling what was originally a "study document" of seven tragic days in Prague the members of the Institute of History of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science were clearly motivated by a sense of dedication to history; and careful footnotes add to the historical value of the document.

There is the interview with the wife of President Ludvik Svoboda who said how she couldn't sleep because her husband's secretary had told her that the President (on the night of the occupation) was pale and disturbed. There is the message to the 14th Party Congress from the mother of Alexander Dubcek... "crying and worried about her son... but pleading that the delegates remain courageous..."

There is the unforgettable fatherly voice at Wenceslas Square intoning through an amplifier to a gathering of excited young people: "Come on, boys, don't be silly. Disperse! Why hand the occupiers a pretext?"

One of the most interesting features of the book is the light it sheds on the behaviour of the occupying Russian troops. A soldier shoots a young boy because he refuses to hand over copies of an illustrated magazine which he is distributing to the people. Another soldier has tears in his eyes because a Czechoslovak reporter refuses to shake hands with him. One realises that either of these soldiers is capable of both things.

This point is brought home by a commentator (on Czechoslovak radio) who says: "I think this is the most peculiar occupation ever known in history—an occupation in which so many soldiers have tears of sorrow and shame on their faces. I personally witnessed a scene in

Opletalova Street in which a tank crew refused to obey an officer's order to disperse a crowd of people. I saw how a young soldier started to cry when an old woman asked him: 'Does your mother know that you, her son, have murdered peaceful people?' However, let us not think that because of such episodes, the occupation soldiers would somehow hesitate if they were ordered to start firing at us with all their weapons... they are our enemies, today..."

The real enemy is not the chap who carries out the orders but the system in Moscow which made the invasion of a neighbouring socialist state inevitable when that neighbour's leaders persisted in opting for a more open society. The nature of that system, and of the men in Moscow who run it (or are run by it) is well understood by those Czechoslovaks who are quoted in the book as saying that real reconciliation between the occupier and occupied is impossible when any compromise on the part of one leads inevitably to a demand by the other for complete capitulation.

The Yugoslav Central Committee Weekly Review, No. 10. 1968 commented:

"This occupation of Czechoslovakia remains a sad example of aggression and war by and between socialist countries. This cannot be taken as merely a question of Czechoslovakia, as what is involved is a precedent. With the occupation of Czechoslovakia the question of aggression and war (launched by Communist countries) is no longer a potential possibility but an ugly reality."

It fell to Roger Garaudy, a leading member of the French Communist Party and well-known writer, to put on record in his book that imperialism could lead to a military dictatorship in the

USSR, that Leonid Brezhnev in ordering his tanks to suppress a new model of socialist democracy has outdone Stalin and applied in general the oppressive methods of the era of the infamous Moscow trials. Perhaps his most devastating remark against the Soviet system is, that it is not the "outcome of Stalinist perversions but the inevitable outcome of the Soviet Communist Party's monopoly of decisions from the field of economics to the arts."

The crisis of Czechoslovakia developed with the reform movement which wanted to relax the rigidity in the application of the Communist doctrine. The movement was considered by the Soviet Union as a threat to the Communist edifice in Eastern Europe. The Czechoslovak leaders' assurance that the movement was not conceived outside a Marxian compass and did not envisage any change in Czechoslovakia's attachment to the Soviet Union could not allay Moscow's misgivings, which were strengthened by representations from "hardliners" in East Germany. The geographical importance of the country on the European map induced the Soviet Union to decide on military intervention in August 1968 along with other members of the Warsaw Pact.

Alexander Dubcek, the former Communist Party Chief and leading exponent of the policy of "Communism with a human face" that had angered the Soviets, was stripped of his power and shunted to Ankara, well beyond his homeland. The fact that in the end the Russians had their way, according to Harrison E. Salisbury, is due to the harsh facts of geopolitics. Mr. Salisbury wrote in *The New York Times* (Weekly Review, October 5, 1969):

"The blame lay in the political agreements entered into by Winston S. Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Josef Stalin during World War II.

"Those understandings place Eastern Europe within the zone of Soviet operations. The Red Army was the first to enter Poland, Czechoslovakia (although the Americans almost

beat them to Prague), Eastern Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania.

"Once in, Soviet military power was there to stay. None of the post-war arguments, none of the manoeuvres of the Cold War, none of the diplomacy of the United Nations changed these facts for Czechoslovakia. The Red Army was, is and for the foreseeable future will be the decisive force in Eastern Europe. Unless or until some other power is willing to challenge it the Kremlin can always, as a last resort, impose its will on Eastern Europe.

"With two or three significant exceptions this, in fact, has been the Soviet policy. The notable exceptions are Yugoslavia and Albania, both favoured by geography which places them on the Adriatic at the outer limit of the Red Army's Balkan influence."

Marshal Tito defied Generalissimo Stalin in 1947-48 and got away with it, probably because Stalin did not dare provoke a Balkan war during the Berlin crisis for fear that the United States might enter the conflict. Albania slipped out of the Russian grasp in Premier Khrushchev's early years by invoking Chinese support. There was also the happy accident that it had no land frontier with Russia along which Russian tanks could mobilize.

It is now clear that the Soviet Union is determined not to allow any member of the Soviet bloc in Eastern Europe to fall out of step. It also reveals Soviet willingness to use force, when necessary, to secure what it believes to be its security interests.

Communists allege that whatever country flares up in revolution, U.S. imperialism loses no time in coming, resorting to the direct export of counter-revolution. Events in Czechoslovakia, however, did not provoke any kind of U.S. intervention. Maybe, Czechoslovakia was considered beyond the American sphere of influence.

The policy of the Soviet Union was also not marked by

any expansionist ambition except for safeguarding the territorial *status quo*.

It would seem that as long as the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union accept the policy of respecting mutual spheres of interest, the existence of China beyond Soviet control tends to turn the Soviet Union from being a dangerous rival into a potential ally of the U.S.A.

Poland, at the instance of the Soviet Union, has launched a major diplomatic move to obtain agreement of NATO nations and Europe's neutrals for convening a European Security Conference in 1970.

The purpose of the proposed conference would be to recognise, on the basis of 25 years of post-war history, the political and territorial *status quo* in Europe. Only by giving the Soviet Union a European agreement, the East European countries can gain room to manoeuvre, normalise and improve the atmosphere of their relations with the West in general and West Germany in particular.

Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany disclosed in Paris that the Soviet Union would soon accept the invitation from America, Britain and France for talks on Berlin. He said openly that East Germany exists. His statement seems to be a prelude to agreements between Russia and West Germany and between West Germany and Poland for the renunciation of force and a formal recognition of the Oder-Niese line by West Germany.

This would give Russia the sanction of the West for its hold on the East European people's republics in exchange of the Allies' presence in West Berlin and a permanent end of the Russian threat to Berlin access routes. The Soviet Union would like to see the situation in Europe stabilised so that it can concentrate attention on Mao's China.

The situation in Europe reveals two interesting facts relating to Communism.

(1) The Communist party has not been able to make any headway in Western European countries, except in France and Italy, where it obtained a stronger foothold in the wake of the Second World War.

(2) While the party remains markedly ineffective in other states of Western Europe, those in Eastern Europe are already in the orbit of the Soviet Union.

The Kremlin has inscribed military intervention as a doctrine embodied in Marxism-Leninism. The East Europeans foresee a Soviet attack on China and consequently fear stronger measures against their own territories to protect Russia's rear in the event of a Sino-Soviet conflict.

The anti-Moscow Peking stance dates back to 1962, when the Sino-Soviet Marxist collusion began to collapse under the weight of revolutionary puritanism. Moscow fears China not so much because of China's national power but, because being Communists themselves, the Russian leaders know that once a man becomes imbued with Communist philosophy the undertone of his thinking must be always towards extremism and, therefore, Peking, if it can keep up a continuing extreme revolutionary posture, will be bound to win over left-wing thinkers all over the world.

A prominent U.S. foreign policy theorist, George Kennan, rapturously informed the readers of the *New York Time Magazine* that "the most encouraging factor" for the U.S. in the last 20 years had appeared on the international arena, namely, the anti-Soviet position of Mao and his retinue. "It would be certainly stupid of us to do nothing about it, to fully ignore China's conflict with the Soviet Union and not to avail ourselves of the favourable consequences that may ensue therefrom," Kennon wrote.

It is rather clear that the Moscow-Peking quarrel gives Washington a pleasant diplomatic edge over both of them. China, by far the weakest among the three world powers, is privileged to be able to tip the power balance in favour of either of the other two by seeking its own accommodation with it.

The New China News Agency, on August 17, 1969, declared that the Soviet Union and the United States were trying to put a last-ditch struggle by forming a counter-revolutionary alliance against China.

Marshal Lin Piao, named Vice-Chairman and official heir to Mao, a designation confirmed by the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China held in April 1969, in his report to the Congress had made a novel class division of countries as "imperialist and social imperialist" and has characterised the contradiction between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. as an inter-imperialist one. The Maoists thus place the Soviet Union in the same category with imperialism, as their enemies.

Though Socialists, China and the Soviet Union look and behave much the same as any other major powers of the world. What is it that is impelling the two Communist countries to give up internationalism, an article of faith for the Communists, and seek even imperialist alliances for mutual destruction—a negation of all that Marx stood for?

Chairman Mao's China has three external aims: First, to recover what she regards as lost territories; second, to establish a ring of friendly buffer States, and third, to secure the leadership of the world Communist movement.

In an interview given to a group of Japanese politicians on July 10, 1964, Mao Tse-tung remarked: "The Soviet Union has occupied too many places. By virtue of the Yalta Agreement, the Soviet Union under the pretext of assuring the independence of Mongolia actually brought that country under its rule... In 1954 when Khrushchev and Bulganin came to China, we raised that question but they refused to talk to us. They have appropriated part of Rumania. Having detached part of East Germany, they drove the inhabitants into the Western part. They detached part of Poland, incorporated it in Russia, and, as compensation, gave Poland part of Eastern Germany. The same in Finland. They detached everything that is possible to detach."

Mao recalled that "a hundred years ago the region east of the lake Baikal became Russian territory and, since then, Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Kamchatka and other places have become territories of the Soviet Union. We have not yet presented our account for this list."

On September 15, 1964, Khrushchev warned the Chinese that the frontiers of the Soviet Union were sacred and that anyone who dared to violate them would meet with a resolute rebuff.

Khrushchev argued that the Soviet Union was a multinational State and the Chinese emperors, like the Russian Czars, had waged wars of aggrandisement. "Let us take Sinkiang, for example," he said. "Have the Chinese been living there from time immemorial? The Sinkiang indigenous population differs sharply from the Chinese ethnically, linguistically and in other respects. They are Uighur, Kirghiz, and other peoples. Chinese emperors conquered them in the past and deprived them of their independence."

Understandably, the Chinese were infuriated. Now Khrushchev was contending that they had no right to be in Sinkiang. On October 1, Saifudin, alternate member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, warned Russia :

"If the Khrushchev revisionists dare to stretch out their evil hands to invade and occupy our territory they will certainly be repulsed... Their evil hands will be cut off as relentlessly as were those of the Indian reactionaries when they invaded (*sic*) China."

The good-neighbourly co-operation, which embodied the principles of socialist internationalism, was first disrupted by China in relation to India's border. The Maoist act, at that time, could not convince 'fraternal' Soviet Union about the grave threat to peace and security of Asian people that is inherent in China's policy of adventurism and expansionism. After

squaring its accounts with 'weaker' India by strong-arm methods, China turned its attention to the Soviet Union and the situation on the Sino-Soviet frontier began to worsen and armed clashes on the Ussuri river in the area of Damansky Island were reported.

Official Chinese propaganda glorified the aggressive wars of Chenghis Khan, who was called the emperor of China, against the people of Asia and Europe. Maps were published showing China "at the height of its might" in which the frontier line was drawn incorporating within China territories, "in which," according to the Soviet Union, "all people of Asia and even many European people now live."

The arguments put forward by Peking leaders to substantiate their rights to lost territories remind me of my encounter with John Foster Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State, when I met him on September 29, 1958, in the State Department building in Washington.

I criticised U.S. foreign policy and Mr. Dulles's pronouncement about Goa, as being 'a province of Portugal'. There was much criticism of the Eisenhower administration then for giving almost unlimited power to men like Sherman Adams in domestic and Dulles in foreign affairs. I told Dulles that he was not keeping American anti-colonial record clean in Indian eyes. The tall, tough statesman did not duck. Explaining the mechanism of policy-making in the U.S.A. and his role, Mr. Dulles told me, "Believe me, sir, the President of the United States is not a dummy."

In justification of his stand on Goa he referred to 400 years of Goa's history under the Portuguese. I retorted, "If you go back to history, the United States would have to be restored to the British rule." Later, when I attended President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Press conference, I felt like asking similar questions to the President but I was debarred and Mr. Rowntree, the Assistant Secretary of State, reasoned with me to stress a little more the many areas of agreement, rather than the opposite.

China is also talking about the "fight for the restoration of historical justice" and in the *Soviet Review* (Vol. 6, Sept. 20, 1968) L. Molodtsova in his article *Chinese revolution and its course* wrote :

"Everyone knows that the Chinese emperors, especially those of the Yuan (1280-1368) and the Chin (1644-1911) dynasties were engaged in conquests east, west, north and south of their country, trying to dominate neighbouring people and territories. It is hard to imagine that even the Chinese leaders, who have long since lost all sense of proportion, seriously expect that they can turn back the clock of history by a few centuries to restore a situation whose only justification was right of conquest."

The Soviet-Chinese border in the Far East was given legal status by the Aigun (1858), Tahcheng (1864) and Peking (1860) treaties.

Japan, a late arrival on the side of the Allies, taking advantage of its nominal participation in World War 1, grabbed the German concessions in China, and some of Russia's holdings too.

Following the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the Soviet Republic at the instance of Lenin, issued a document. It was called the Karakhan Proposal. The proposal stated : "We proclaim that all secret treaties made before the revolution with China, ... are hereby abrogated. We hereby renounce all territory obtained through aggressive means by the former Russian Imperial Government." It handed over Russian share of the indemnities imposed by imperialist states on China after the suppression of the "Boxer" uprising, liquidated the former Russian concessions in China and restored to China the right of way for the Chinese Eastern Railway.

The gesture of revolutionary magnanimity won the Bolsheviks the admiration and attention of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his cohorts who looked to the Soviet Union rather than the West for

assistance against the Peking regime of war lords in early 1920's.

The question of unequal treaties in Soviet-Chinese relations is, according to the Soviet view, a "concoction from beginning to end and the purpose is to sow among the Chinese people animosity and hatred for our country for the Soviet people."

China is no longer reckoned as a mere political adversary but also as a national enemy, with whom the Soviet Union has already been engaged in physical fighting.

Scientists have found on experiment that it is literally death for a living organism if it loses the exclusive territory it needs in relation to its neighbours. Dr. H. Shoemaker, an English ethnologist, has found in his research that every family, however low-ranking, wants to remain master of its own space. The Japanese, for example, within a family, like to live as a compact body in a specified space, but hate to have in their homes a shared wall with another family.

Germans loathe the sound of strangers around their homes. So important to Germans is their feeling of the need for "lebensraum"—or living space—that when the Allied occupiers after the war ordered bombed-out families to share kitchens and baths, violence surged up and there were even cases of neighbours murdering one another.

Great religions have tried in vain to unite in an era of brotherhood of mankind on the basis of love. Marx urged the workers of the world—white, yellow and black—to unite and fight for a new social order free from injustice and exploitation. This is also withering following the space needs of different nations in the Socialist camp. It does seem that every nation—socialist or capitalist—needs a buffer of space between it and other people—though this "buffer" is in itself flexible, expanding and contracting to promote national ambition or to meet the need of separation from alien national bodies. The same may be the reason for deterioration in China's relation with her neighbours involving clashes across NEFA, the Ussuri river and along the Burma-China border.

After the latest outbreak of fighting on the Kazakshtan-Sinkiang frontiers (August 13, 1969), the Soviet Union charged China with deliberately provoking these border clashes to convince Americans that they were ready for a deal with American imperialism on an anti-Soviet platform. *Pravda* alleged that the U.S. Secretary of State, William Rogers, during his Asian tour "continuously appealed to Peking to revive their official dialogue with China for normalisation of relation."

Diplomatic circles believe that Soviet leaders are also under pressure from their own army chiefs to avoid getting embroiled in West Asia because the Sino-Soviet tension might explode into a full-scale military conflict. The Russians traditionally have always been acutely aware of the danger of being involved simultaneously on two massive land fronts.

A Yugoslav Agency reported from Peking on August 7 that "the sequence of events in China over the past three years has put her army into topmost social position". The agency quoted the Chief of Staff, Huang Yng Sheng, as having warned that China might be attacked by American imperialism and socio-imperialism — meaning the USSR. But China had carried out all preparations for confronting any would-be aggressor, "even if a large-scale nuclear war was imposed on her."

China may have fissionable material to make 100 atomic bombs of 20 kilo-ton yield but she does not have the ability to deliver them against a defended target, says the latest report of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London. The Institute believes China has increased her armed forces by more than 60,000 men, bringing them to a total of 3,300,000.

The Soviet Union increased its defence appropriations by 200 million rubles more than 1969 figures. U.S. defence spending in 1971 will be seven per cent of the gross national product (G.N.P.), compared to 9.5 per cent of the G.N.P. in 1968. It could be inferred that increased military spending of Russia reflects the assessment of the situation along her eastern border with China.

UNEQUAL TREATIES AND CHINESE BORDER WITH U.S.S.R.

--- 1840 CHINESE BORDER.
— PRESENT CHINESE
BORDER.

U. S. S. R.

TREATY OF
AIGUN - 1858
(Ceded to Russia)

TREATY OF
PEKING - 1860
(Ceded to Russia)

Mongolia, originally part of Chinese empire,
has since 1911 been independent, but allied
since 1924 with the
U.S.S.R.

TAICHENG
TREATY - 1864
(Ceded to Russia)

TREATY OF
ILI - 1881
(Ceded to China)

U. S. S. R.

Ulan Bator
MONGOLIA

Peking

SINKIANG

C H I N A

TIBET

Lhasa

Delhi

INDIA

PAKISTAN

NEPAL

BURMA

Kashmir

Rawal Pindi

Kabul

AFGHANISTAN

IRAN

Sea of Japan

Yell. Sea

N. KOREA

S. KOREA

Vladivostok

Sakhalin

Sea of Japan

North Pacific Ocean

TAIWAN

ARDRENDU DUTTA

The Kremlin has appealed to Soviet youth "to perfect their physical fitness and prepare themselves for the forthcoming struggle with China." Col. G. Cechin, Deputy Commander of the Pacific Border District, in *Sovietskoy Sport* (April 8, 1969) stated that the far eastern frontier with China, formerly known as the "border of friendship" is now a serious trouble spot.

He drew attention to the fact that the Soviet Union could not entirely rely on military and technical superiority in the event of a war with China, because even the destruction of Peking and the Chinese atomic base in Sinkiang by Soviet missiles and the occupation of the industrial centres of Manchuria would not prevent a vast number of enemy force from flooding Soviet territory across the exposed 7,500 kms. common border with China. Also, the sheer size of China facilitates defence in depth, and a Soviet offensive would encounter the same problems as were faced by both Napoleon and Hitler in their attempts to conquer Russia.

Were the Sino-Soviet conflict to end in war, the two most likely flash points would be the Ussuri river boundaries where Russia's Far East region borders on Manchuria, and on the borders of Sinkiang. It is in these two areas that the recent clashes between Moscow and Peking took place.

The Russians are well aware of the problems of defending their Far East region into which Manchuria makes a deep salient. The main line of communication—the Trans-Siberian Railway linking Moscow with Vladivostock—runs dangerously close to the Manchurian border and inevitably would have to face a Chinese bid to cut it if hostilities broke out.

Two thousand miles away, in Sinkiang, the boot is on the other leg. Here China's lines of communication are long and difficult. In contrast, the Russians have a well-developed rail system, which gives access to the frontier at points. It is, therefore, no great problem for the Russians to reinforce their already strong strategic forces along the Central Asian border with Sinkiang.

On the other hand, Peking's lines of communication with

Sinkiang are long. A main supply route is through Aksai Chin which was grabbed by Peking from India in 1962. Sinkiang is a huge province, but its density of population is low. Its importance to the Soviet is both contemporary and historic. During the 1930's, Stalin sent Chinese puppet troops, with Soviet "advisers", to occupy the area. In all but name, it was a Soviet territory until Hitler attacked Russia. Stalin, however, pulled out these "advisers" to join battle against Germany.

Chiang Kai-shek sent troops to fill the vacuum, but as soon as the World War ended, Stalin sent Russian troops again and Sinkiang became a half-Russian, half-Chinese territory.

During the period when the Chinese Communist Party was being supported and half-dominated by Moscow, Sinkiang was returned to grateful China—a step Moscow now regrets. Soviet broadcasts from Tashkent are asking the people of Sinkiang to start the "war of liberation" against the regime of Chairman Mao.

If a "people's war" were to begin in China's Sinkiang province, a Communist country, for the first time, will be supporting a revolution against another Communist regime. Until now, all the so-called people's wars the Soviets have encouraged have been aimed at installing a pro-Communist regime.

In a document issued by the Chinese Foreign Ministry on October 8, 1969, China said, "The wild aim of the Soviet Government in bringing forth a new so-called principle of nationalities' is to split the Chinese nation and occupy China's frontier regions inhabited by her minority nationalities."

Besides the step taken by China and the Soviet Union to augment military dispositions along the frontier, greater care is taken by both to influence opinion abroad. The war of words continues unabated, both sides divulging each other's secret which is shocking and bewildering.

The European Press gave much importance to the statements published by the important Soviet paper, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, labelling the present regime in China as having

"exterminated more than 25 million in concentration camps." The Chinese Press is not inactive either. Hangchow Radio has revealed "the blueprint of the colonial empire the Soviet revisionist Tsars dream about" and talked of Russia's "aggressive claws" reaching into—among other places—India, Indonesia and the Arab States. The Kremlin calls Mao an "Asian Bonaparte, wanting to seize Malaysia, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Burma, even India and Arab countries." Moscow Radio gave details of "Peking's continuing interference in the internal affairs of Malaysia and said that Peking was trying to stir up racial trouble in Malaysia. . . Peking was ignoring the country's welfare in the interest of its own hegemonic designs."

That it was the Chinese Communists who sparked off racial riots in which 200 persons were killed in Malaysia in May 1969, was also confirmed by the country's Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, in his book *May 13—Before and After*. He suggested that they were out to harm the Government and the refusal of Malays to obey their orders led to the racial clashes and violence.

"They were gathered in the compound of Dato Harun's residence", the Tunku says while describing the meeting of his own party, the United Malaya National Organisation (UMNO), when "news came through suddenly that the Chinese had attacked Malays in Setapek, a mile or two to the north."

This news, he said, created a storm of indignation. "Two Chinese passing by on motorcycles were attacked and killed. And so the riots of May 13 began, triggering off violence unprecedented in the history of Malaysia."

The Tunku declares he has good reason to believe that the Communists provided finance for the opposition Pan-Malay Islamic Party in the election. They were providing money for the Malay troublemakers and showing an alarming degree of activity among the Malaysian Chinese.

Another sensational disclosure by a Soviet Press release entitled *Racists' Friends* (by Alferd Gurkow) shows Chinese Communists' collusion with South Africa and Rhodesia and

subversive activities of the "Mao clique" hostile to the people of Africa. Gurkow writes: "It seems particularly paradoxical, at the first glance, to see, among the racists' friends, those who boastfully call themselves the main enemy of world imperialism".

The Press release says, "Peking vehemently assured the African Governments that it would observe implicitly the embargo imposed by the Organisation of African Unity on trade with the South African Republic. But these assurances were fake through and through. The Mao group has been constantly maintaining and expanding relations with racists, trying at the same time, to keep its activities, unfriendly towards the African people, as secret as possible."

The Tanzanian newspaper *Ngurumu* reported that a secret agreement on bilateral trade was concluded between Mao's representatives and Pretoria leaders in Hong Kong in 1965.

The South African Minister of Economics, Hack, in reply to a question in Parliament, in March 1969 said, "The South African importers and exporters have a right to choose suppliers and customers abroad for themselves and that the South African Government does not interfere in these affairs."

Minister Hack refused to give any concrete data on the Peking-Pretoria trade saying that 'this is not in the interest of public.' Under the 'public', Gurkow writes, he evidently meant the 'Peking fighters' against the imperialist paper tigers who want at all costs to preserve the mask of people's friends in the eyes of the world."

The article also points out how Peking is stepping up economic relations with Smith's racist Rhodesia. "Throughout 1968, China bought 60,000 tons of chrome ore of Salisbury, which comes to about 20 per cent of the annual Rhodesian ore output. These ores were shipped by rail to the Beira port in Mozambique, held by the Portuguese colonialists, and there loaded on Chinese ships. A part of this ore is used in the Chinese military industry. Besides, China had started buying sugar in Rhodesia already in 1967 transporting it by a specially chartered Lebanese ship.

"They show quite convincingly that in carrying out their great-power, anti-Leninist policy which has nothing in common with the proletarian internationalism or the class socialist contents 'the great helmsman' and Peking mandarins are actually joining forces with the most rampant imperialist reaction and betraying the African peoples' national liberation movement," the article added.

It may be noted three-quarters of China's foreign trade is now with the capitalist countries.

Since the starting of Sino-Soviet talks, both sides noticeably "cooled off" their formidable propaganda machines, apparently temporarily.

China seems indeed capable of greater flexibility and that she is ready to divorce ideological questions from matters of inter-state relations, which she was not prepared to do earlier. In its statement of October 7, 1969, the Chinese Government said "that it has never concealed the fact that irreconcilable principal differences exist between China and the Soviet Union and that the struggle over principles between them will continue for a long time yet. However, this should not prevent China and the Soviet Union from maintaining normal relations based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence."

There was little indication as to how the Sino-Soviet talks in Peking were going on. Five months of negotiations have failed to produce any result—the talks remain deadlocked with no prospects of a solution in the foreseeable future.

Meanwhile, Moscow has pulled back its forces 30 miles from the Sino-Soviet border in a unilateral move intended to avert armed clashes with Red Chinese troops.

The Chinese government has been demanding a Soviet troops' withdrawal of some 62 miles which Moscow firmly refused. China and Russia have again stepped up verbal attacks on each other.

That all is not well in the Peking talks has also been underlined by Russia's sudden decision to set up a new military command along the 1200-mile-long border with the Chinese province of Sinkiang.

The appointment of the former Deputy Commander of Soviet Strategic Rocket Forces, General Tolubko, is seen as an indication of the seriousness with which the Russians view the situation vis-a-vis China.

Russia regards those who are not openly for the Soviet form of Communism as being against it and in failing to ally with Moscow's policies, Peking ceases to be a Communist country.

Albania, Mao's only satellite in East Europe, is being encouraged by China to establish friendlier relations with other East European countries in a bid to undermine Soviet influence there.

China has begun to show flexibility in its relations with Yugoslavia, and Rumania. In November 1969, China and Yugoslavia raised their diplomatic representation to ambassadorial level. The major objective of the Chinese move to flatter the "arch-revisionist" Marshal Tito is to keep him from moving closer to Moscow.

A Hungarian University professor Rafis Hadju writes that it is a barren task to defend Communist idealism openly and, therefore in cultural life and in literary discussions, because anyone who does so is apt to be labelled sectarian, conservative, dogmatic or bourgeois. As a Budapest joke says, it is quite easy to be a Communist in the West, but "you should try being one over here." In his article entitled *Revolution or Anarchy*, Professor Hadju dwells on the strong radical influence exerted on young Hungarian intellectuals not only by Mao Tse-tung but also by Regis Debray, Guevara and the theoreticians of the radical student movements in the West.

The picture that emerges from all this is that the Yugoslav 'heresy' followed by Khrushchev's account of Stalin's terrors and errors already eroded the stability of the Communist power structure. The monolithic unity of the Communist camp is now a myth. Communist countries want to be independent in their own national ways to socialism.

Two patterns of Communist regime have now emerged in the world.

One: Communist countries where Communism seized power through a national revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party,—as in Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, Albania and Vietnam.

Two: where Communists came to power under the aegis of the Soviet Army in the wake of the Second World War. Nationalism has shown itself as a force in East European countries—Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Rumania.

There can only be one true country for each man, be he a Communist or a nationalist.

After the Great October Revolution, in order to maintain the socialist victory in incredibly difficult conditions and in his bid to silence the opposition and promote unity of will and action, Stalin developed a Soviet system which failed to protect people from his despotic arbitrariness.

In spite of the Marxist-Leninist theory that stresses the decisive role of the masses as creators of history, personality cult, it seems clear, flowers under the dictatorship of the proletariat and minimises the role of the working people, the nation and the party. It can assume as monstrous proportions as the cult of emperors of bygone days.

In the context of developments in Stalin's Russia and Mao's China, the dictatorship of the proletariat has degenerated into despotism—an absolute rule of tyranny by a leader supported by a ramified bureaucracy and army—where the

working class has no influence, nor are there the restraints of the proletarian institutions.

Revolution in history has always been a human quest for freedom. In earlier revolutions, such quest has been confined only to political and cultural freedom. Marxism envisaged a revolution which enlarged the notion of political and cultural freedom to include the ideas of economic freedom in it. It is not correct to think that Communism rejects political and spiritual freedom for the sake of providing enough food for the masses. Marx has laid the greatest stress on the words "free", "freedom" and "democracy". Marx's Communism postulates "an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all"; "a leap from the realm of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."

Communism makes the state unnecessary. For under Communism, there is nobody to be suppressed and, therefore, no special apparatus of suppression will be needed. If any occasion arises this will be done by the people themselves, as promptly and readily, as any crowd of civilised people, even in bourgeois society, intervenes to rescue a woman from being assaulted by a band of ruffians.

Lenin said: "Victorious socialism cannot consolidate its victory and bring humanity to the withering away of the state without implementing full democracy." (*Collected works*, Vol. 23, p.74)

This is different from capitalist democracy under which the oppressed are allowed once in every five years to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class will represent them in Parliament and thus, will continue to repress them.

In order to achieve its emancipation, the proletariat must overthrow the bourgeoisie, win political power and establish its own dictatorship. This is called the struggle for "raising the proletariat to the position of the ruling class." After the success

of the revolution begins the transition period which intervenes between capitalism and Communism. The state now in its new garb called the "dictatorship of the proletariat", functions not in the interest of freedom or democracy but in order to crush its class enemies by force.

And this transition becomes long-drawn-out and complicated when it becomes possible for a clever individual to operate the "apparatus of coercion" (the state) in favour of his own absolute rule and the struggle that is waged sheds more blood than the most bloody war of the past.

Marxism is not a military barrack Communism—a Communism established at the point of the bayonet by a "great helmsman" over humble and obedient people.

The principle of succession is also an anachronism in Marxian theory. To name Mao Tse-tung as the life-long leader of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese People's Republic and to nominate Lin Piao as his successor is also a departure from the Communist ideology as defined by its accredited exponents—Marx and Lenin.

As China feverishly "digs in" against a feared Soviet attack, serious doubts are being raised over Lenin's theory that socialist revolution opens up the road to peace between countries where the revolution has triumphed; because classes interested in war are removed from power there.

The divergence of Soviet, Chinese, Yugoslav and other models of the road to socialism now shows that Marxism is a doctrine of the sum of its national forms. The writings of Marx and Lenin are interpreted by Communist parties individually, according to conditions in their respective countries, and these conditions are compelling the parties to reconsider their structure, ideology and purpose and mutual relationship. This ultimately implies a denial of the internationalist class essence of Marxism.

There are too many revolutionary trends now in the world—

such as Maoist, Castroist and Moscow-oriented, besides Titoist—quite distinct from the Chinese and the Soviet brands.

Lenin's major contribution to Marxist thought was the interpretation of Marxism to suit the backward, peasant dominated economy of Russia and a full theory of revolution. But the revolutionary class, in Marxist-Leninist parlance, is invariably the urban proletariat. Lenin wrote about the working class "as the only consistently revolutionary class of contemporary society."

He regarded the Communist Party as the 'vanguard' of the working class, all working people, and as the main weapon in the struggle against imperialism.

Soviet ideology claims that the dictatorship of the proletariat is established by its "vanguard", i.e. the Communist Party which retains its dominating role both on the road to socialism and after socialism has been achieved.

Mao Tse-tung invests the peasants with the leading role in the Chinese revolution. Titoists criticise the "bureaucratic distortions" of the Soviet system and the Maoists claim that the Soviet Union is bent on restoration of capitalism. The Chinese and the Yugoslav Communists claim that the Soviet system has led to the creation of a privileged ruling class (of Party bureaucrats) which prevents the creation of a truly classless society. The Titoists consider that after socialisation of the means of production and construction of socialism, it is essential to reorganise economic and social management of the country according to the principle of "self-management". In this process the Communist Party must cease to have totalitarian control over all aspects of social and state life and gradually adopt the function of adviser and persuader in order to achieve the desired objective—creation of a classless society.

Among the leaders in Latin America, Fidel Castro considers the party to be superfluous. The best exposition of Castro's views on revolution, which are supposed to be the

same as Ernest (Che) Guevara's, is to be found in the *Revolution in Revolution*, written by Regis Debray, who had taught philosophy in Havana, later implicated in the Bolivian armed struggle in which Guevara was killed. Debray, the French intellectual, is now serving a 30-year prison sentence in Bolivia.

Castroites reject the primacy of ideology or party and lay emphasis on action. In the course of action, the party will be formed, the ideology will take shape. As against Mao's theory of protracted war with villages as bases, Castroites advocate guerrilla columns, who are advised not to be lost in the masses. Mao insists on the vanguard role of the party. (Party commands the gun: Mao). Ideological work among the masses is a *sine qua non* of mobilisation which leads to the principal form of struggle, revolutionary war. Sustained work which does not exclude struggles for economic benefits, according to Mao, is needed to rouse the masses. Castroites evade the whole question and attach importance only to armed units roving in inaccessible areas and continuously harassing government troops.

In Latin America, Castro is a charismatic leader. No wonder, guerrillas in Guatemala, Venezuela and Bolivia are more under the spell of Castro than Mao. But the failure of Guevara in Bolivia to rouse any popular enthusiasm, as shown in his diary, has now been taken up by pro-Chinese parties. A furious ideological battle is now going on between these two Communist factions in almost every Latin American country.

Daniel Cohn Bandit, leader of the 1968 (May) French uprising, in his *Obsolete Communism* goes a step further. He questions the very concept of leadership. Holding Communist parties responsible for dissuading masses from revolutionary struggle, this student leader exhorts masses to rely on their spontaneity and discard any leadership.

The revolution in Russia extended the boundaries of the world revolutionary movement. The scope and nature of the

movement was compressed into the framework of a centralised organisation called Comintern.

The Third International (The Comintern) was founded by Lenin in 1919 to foment world revolution and bring all Communist parties under the Soviet control. In 1943 to allay the misgivings of its allies in the Second World War, Stalin brought about the dissolution of the Comintern. President Roosevelt exercised a strong influence on Stalin in this matter because he was interested in stopping Communist propaganda in the United States and approached Stalin directly, who agreed to the proposal to gain friendship of the American President. The existence of the Comintern, with its declared aims of world revolution and the creation of a world state of the dictatorship of the proletariat was against the Soviet Union's wartime interests, and for that reason it had to be liquidated. But this body was resurrected in September 1947 under a new name: The Cominform (Communist Information Bureau). The Cominform included the Communist Parties of the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia. The new body at its session in Poland decided to expel the national bourgeois oppressors from power and for this, insurrections were planned simultaneously in Burma, Malay, Indonesia and the Philippines at a secret session of the Asian Youth conference held in Calcutta in February, 1948, with Moscow's instructions.

In December 1949, the Presidium of the German Communist Party indicated how the world's Communists were to understand internationalism in the era of the Cominform. "Since the creation of the Soviet Union the touchstone for proletarian internationalism is the position and attitude towards the Soviet Union. An internationalist today is he who resolutely fights against the enemies of the Soviet Union."

Some Communist Parties had refused to submit to Moscow's authority and to subordinate their economic interests to those of the Soviet Union, and it was for this reason that the Yugoslav Party was expelled from the Cominform. The headquarters of

the Cominform was shifted from Belgrade to Bucharest (in Rumania). After Stalin's death, CPSU leaders decided upon a rapprochement with Yugoslavia and the Cominform, as an obstacle to this, was dissolved in April 1956.

Even after the Comintern and the Cominform had ceased functioning, the Soviet Government was still able to influence other Communist parties through political infiltration, economic pressure and, when all else failed, by military forces, as in the case of Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

The celebration on March 25-26, 1969, at Moscow of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Comintern, provided yet another example after the Moscow summit of the increasing disintegration in the international Communist movement. There can, therefore, now be no question of "Bolshevisation" and of joint action by the world's Communist parties with direction from a single headquarters, as envisaged by Lenin in 1919. Moscow does no more hold the "Olympic torch" of Marxism.

No honest Communist, who wants to play a part in creating a new world order, will deny that Communism as an ideology has passed through a serious crisis during the 'Sixties. Some are emboldened to say that the seventh decade of the 20th century will witness the sunset of Communism.

The Red world, to be sure, has plenty to be anxious about.

2

ANGUISH
OF MAN
AND ART

I did not think it right to behave through fear unlike a free-born man.

—Socrates

Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men.

—John Emerich Edward Dalberg Acton.

Anatoli Kuznetsov, aged 40, a Soviet author, says : "Artistic freedom in the Soviet Union has been reduced to freedom to praise the Soviet system and the Communist Party and urge people to fight for Communism."

This means, according to him, writers in Russia are faced with three choices—simply to go along with this idiocy and to let their brains and conscience have no effect on their actions ; to write properly as their ability and conscience permit (it may even be the cause of the author's physical destruction).

The third choice is to try to write honestly as far as possible, choosing subjects not dangerous, or to write in allegories. "I chose the third way," said Kuznetsov, "but it did not work for me. The censor always managed to bring me to my knees."

"Literature in the Soviet Union is controlled by people who are ignorant, cynical and remote from literature," he added.

"For a quarter of a century, I dreamed about a happy state of affairs which is unthinkable for a Soviet writer—to be able to publish writings without restrictions, without fear, not to start trembling at every knock at the door ; not to be hiding manuscripts in a hole on the ground.

"Oh, the number of holes I had dug to conceal jam jars full of my dangerous and doubtful manuscript ! My writing desk had no drawers at all. The earth itself served as my desk and my safe."

The decision of Kuznetsov to seek asylum in Britain is not the result of the anguish of an individual writer, but also the anguish of art itself enslaved to a rigid political system.

He said : "How could you like to be hung upside down by your feet, with your arms stretched out and then to be told to write something cheerful about the life around you ?"

Kuznetsov emphasises that a Soviet writer is "practically never entirely honest" with a foreigner and not even in the privacy of his own home. The only ones who have survived are those who have acquired an instinct of self-preservation.

He adds: "Honest ones are not around. They are far away in a madhouse, concentration camp or in cold earth, at best enjoying posthumous rehabilitation."

Kuznetsov is the latest on a long list of serious writers, starting with Maxim Gorky, who, since the Bolshevik Revolution, have found it impossible to work under Communism.

Maxim Gorky, who was a personal friend of Lenin, was granted permission to live abroad and Ilya Ehrenburg lived in Paris throughout the Stalinist regime. A steadily increasing number of contemporary writers are disappearing behind the bars or into mental asylums as the compulsions of their art force them to look straight at the Communist world around them.

Even Pasternak, author of *Doctor Zhivago*, who found it unthinkable to leave the Soviet Union, lived for a year in self-chosen silence, only issuing his testaments and poems as he neared the end of his life.

There was growing disenchantment among the literary intelligentsia, whose hopes were dashed, in spite of Khrushchev's liberalism, as they became increasingly and acutely aware that either they have to be obedient servants of the regime, or to be its victims if they showed themselves too deeply concerned.

Deprived of any outlet, liberal protests are increasingly taking an unofficial form, either as "underground literature" or as writings and documents published abroad.

They continue their literary activities and their protest despite the repressive climate. The price to be paid may include the loss of livelihood, exile or imprisonment or such routine measures as forcible confinement in mental homes.

Article 70 of the Soviet Criminal Code makes it possible for anyone who writes or says anything even mildly critical of the Soviet system to be sentenced to a maximum of seven years in a labour camp, followed by a maximum of five years in exile.

The most famous victims of this Article are writers Sinyavsky and Daniel, both of whom are now serving labour camp sentences of seven and five years respectively.

Other victims are Yuri Galanskov (seven years in labour camp) and Alexander Ginsburg (five years in labour camp). Both were accused of slandering the regime.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, generally considered to be Russia's greatest living writer, has been expelled from the Soviet Writers' Union.

Three prominent young Ukrainian intellectuals serving hard labour sentences in a Soviet labour camp have charged the KGB with poisoning their food rations.

The charge appears in a letter written by them and smuggled out of Russia and addressed to the United Nations' Human Rights Commission.

The three men, all sentenced to hard labour for protesting against the Russian suppression of Ukrainian minority rights, declare that the KGB "having failed to break us morally," are now trying to "transform us biologically from intellectuals into primitives."

The three Ukrainians, Lev Lukysynko and Ivan Kandyba, both lawyers, and Mykhaylo Horyn, author and industrial psychologist, are in the Potma group of labour camps, about 300 miles east of Moscow.

The three men add: "Symptoms of poisoning are as follows: a slight pressure in the temples begins 10 to 15 minutes after eating; this eventually develops into an unbearable headache.

"Concentration becomes difficult even for something like writing a letter home. When reading a paragraph one forgets what was written at the beginning before reaching the end.

"In order to return to the normal state, it is necessary to fast for 24 hours. Therefore, we alternate days of fasting with days of poisoned food.

"Food packages from home are even more strongly poisoned, so that we have been forced to throw them away, although we are allowed to receive them only twice a year."

"Nutrition in the camp consists of 2,000 calories daily". Poisoning, they write, began last year, with different symptoms at first: "Ten to 15 minutes after eating one felt a mild intoxication, followed by a severe cramp in the centre of the brain, trembling of hands and inability to concentrate. The headaches last for days."

When they complained to the camp authorities that they were being poisoned, the three were transferred to separate cells with screens and blinds, which shut out all daylight.

"This is the manner in which Russian officials of the KGB treat Ukrainian patriots and honest citizens," they say.

The sharp reaction of the writers of Western Europe to the sufferings to which their counterparts in Soviet Russia have been subjected is reflected in a letter published in *Le Figaro Littéraire* (December 29, 1969 and January 4, 1970). Among the signatories are Gunthur Grass, Graham Greene, Julian Huxley, Arthur Miller and Philip Toynbee.

The text of the letter is: "If this appeal is not heard, we shall seek no other means than asking all the writers and the artists of the world to impose an international cultural boycott. . . For more than fifty years, censor and police in the USSR have prevented religious minds from praying, philosophers from thinking and writers from writing. The admirable production of the 19th century has been mutilated, expurgated

and simply annihilated. . . When the people will set up martyrology of artists or intellectuals liquidated or reduced to silence by the terror that all free thinking inspires in the masters of Kremlin, the world will be stupefied by the immensity of its loss. Before the systematic reduction of the creative generations to slavery or to falsehood, it is necessary to speak against the slow genocide of mind."

Communist China's intellectuals are also in for a tough time. *Red Flag*, the authoritative journal of the Party's Central Committee, accuses them of being either victims of "capitalist" slogans or escapist.

Mao's "revolutionary masses" are contemptuous of intellectuals, regard them as third-rate citizens, and ruthless methods are being employed to integrate intellectuals with the working class.

After the Hungarian revolution was suppressed by Soviet tanks in 1956, Mao Tse-tung delivered the famous poetic "let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend," speech and intellectuals, scholars and professors, journalists and students—claimed their new freedom of speech and tasted it. Newspapers were permitted to publish views dissenting from the reigning Communist orthodoxy. A great surge of criticism manifested itself in every field. Dissenters were encouraged to come out in the open. Many did. Then the Communist Party started a fierce campaign of purge, execution and suppression, branding these flowers as poisonous weeds which must be chopped down. The critics were humiliated and sent to camps for 'reform through labours.'

The Communist newspaper, *People's Daily*, wrote in an editorial of July 1, 1957, "Before monsters and serpents can be wiped out, they must first be brought into the open, and only by letting poisonous weeds show themselves above the ground can they be uprooted... why have our reactionary class enemies enmeshed themselves in the net that was spread for them?" The "hundred flowers" had been in bloom only for six weeks.

Thousands of leading intellectuals in China have been slandered, dismissed from all posts and thrown into prison or concentration camps. Exhausted by physical and moral tortures, Lao Sheh, eminent Chinese writer and author of the novel *Riksha Boy*, committed suicide. So did Hsin Mu, chief editor of the Kwangchou newspaper, *Hungwei pao*. The renowned writer Mao Tun, who was the Chairman of the Chinese Writers' Union and Minister of Culture, has been barred from all activity. The persecution of Chao Shu-li, author of the novel *Hurricane*, Li Pai-yu, Chou Li-po, Shao Chuan-lin and dozens of other writers continues. The blacklist carried the names of the leading composers Ho Lun-ting and Mao Ko, film critic and scenario writer Hsia Yan, actor and director of the Peking Opera Chou Hsiu-rang, cinema actress Pai Yang and well-known painters Chai Jo-hung and Chu-wu, the historians, Ho Chiao-mu, Chien Po-chen and Hou Wai-lu, the mathematician, Hau Lo-keng, who was awarded honorary degrees by several foreign universities, geologist Ho Chang-kung and chemist Liang Ying-yung.

Nor were the dead forgotten. The grave of the renowned Chi Pai-shi, whose paintings had brought glory to the traditional Chinese art, was desecrated. The monument of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Nanking was removed from the pedestal.

Andre Malraux, the French author, in his books, *Anti-Memories* gives an account of his interview in July 1965 with Mao Tse-tung, the "greatest genius of all times and nations."

"Is the opposition still strong?" Malraux asked Mao. "The national bourgeoisie intellectuals still exist. Children are born to both..."

"Why do you speak of the intellectuals?"

"They harbour anti-Marxist ideas."

So, according to Mao, anti-Marxism is hereditary to intelligentsia.

The attitude of Mao to culture is strikingly revealed in his following statements :

"Under the Ming dynasty," he said, "things proceeded well only under two emperors, Tai Tsu and Cheng Tsu. One of them knew no character at all and the other knew only a few. Then, under Chia Ching, intellectuals (*sic*) came to power and things, on the contrary, did not proceed well. The situation was not good in the state. If you read many books, you will not become an emperor..."

Some of these features of Communism are reminiscent of the medieval church. They consisted of fanatical acceptance of doctrines embodied in a sacred book and savage persecution of those who rejected them. In the five years after Lenin's death, Trotsky, Kamanov, Zinoviev, Bukharin and numerous other Soviet leaders were purged. In the five years after Stalin's death, Beria was shot dead and Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich were disgraced.

It is alleged that Stalin was ruthless and invented the personality cult, and the system of repression of those against him through police and spy. Svetlana Alliluyeva, his daughter, however, maintains that all this did not begin with her father. "He inherited it all from Lenin. It started with Lenin and Lenin's insistence on the monopoly of the Communist Party," she contends.

I may recall here my personal impression about Stalin when in 1956, I had the privilege of visiting the famous historical Lenin mausoleum in Red Square, Moscow. Russians come in hundreds every day and queue up at the mausoleum to pay homage to Lenin as they have no other god to worship. I joined one of these queues. The scene, I saw inside the mausoleum, is etched in my memory for ever. Before me there were two huge glass cases lying side by side—one containing the embalmed body of Lenin the other that of Stalin. Lenin's stocky, short with quarter-moon moustache and colossal forehead and rocky jaw ; Stalin's, taller, handsome with aquiline

line nose, large eyes, the characteristic moustache upturned on both sides and the chest plate studded with numerous glittering decorations. One—the father of the modern socialist Soviet Union; the other—the builder of the socialist State that Russia today is. I had a spell of emotion.

The events of the Second World War flashed across my mind.

British and French imperialism initially regarded German Fascism as identical with itself, bent on acquiring *Lebensraum* in the East and ridding the world of Communism.

Naville Chamberlain and Monsieur Daladier sacrificed first Austria and then Czechoslovakia and opened the road for invasion by the mechanised Nazi hordes east-ward, against the Soviet Union.

On September 1, 1939, fifty-nine Nazi divisions attacked Poland. They were supported by 2,000 tanks, and 1,500 aircraft. Storming the border fortifications, the Nazi army swarmed into Poland in several streams,—from the west, north and south—heading towards the country's capital, Warsaw, which was subjected to ruthless massive bombing.

On September 3, Britain and France declared war on Germany. On the Western Front, there were only 34 German divisions facing 76 Anglo-French divisions backed by the entire French army. The French armed forces at that time had 16,350 guns, (ten times as many as the Germans) 2,946 tanks, 440 bombers and 734 fighters. They were reinforced by the British bomber air force. Mysteriously the Allied troops could not inflict the slightest loss on German troops in the west.

German despatches from the Western Front indicating the casualties on their side during Hitler's Polish campaign sounded like joke. According to the report of General Heinrizi, Commander of the 16th German Infantry Division, his Division lost two soldiers during the first week of the war: one of them was shot by a German patrol because he failed to give the

password ; the other struck a German mine. One bridge was blown up and that was also by a cow. A "Luxemburg cow" crossed to the German side, struck its horn in the wire attached to a mine and blew up the bridge mined by German sappers in anticipation of a French offensive.

In this war without precedent in history, in a matter of six weeks, France lost the war to Hitler's formidable forces and her territory, with the help of Vichy collaborators, became a semi-colonial appendage to Germany.

But the heroic resistance of the Soviet people under the leadership of Stalin assumed a mass character and the Nazi war machine was smashed in fiercely cruel battles which continued incessantly for almost four years. The Nazi hordes were only 24 miles from Moscow, the Kremlin's towers were within their sight. In Leningrad for 900 days men fought to the last drops of their blood ; half a million Leningraders fell ; for lack of food, survivors among them ate human flesh.

What was it, if not the leadership of Stalin, which inspired the 360 million Russians, with the passion of their heart to fight and sacrifice 20 million lives and achieve an epochal victory over Fascism ?

The maniacal Fuehrer, screaming hoarsely, committed suicide.

Through the power of people Stalin gave shape to a new age of socialism in the trail of the Second World War.

After the completion of my Russian tour, I visited Paris where I read in the European edition of *The New York Times* the disclosure by Khrushchev in his secret report to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party about the scale of Stalin's terrorism. This startling news made my heart heavy with sorrow.

Khrushchev reported : "Arbitrary behaviour by one person encouraged and permitted arbitrariness in others. Mass arrests and deportations of many thousands of people, execution with-

out trial and without normal investigation created conditions of insecurity, fear and even desperation."

Khrushchev disclosed that "of the 139 members and candidates of the Party's Central Committee who were elected at the 17th Congress, 98 persons, i.e. 70 per cent were arrested and shot (mostly in 1937-38) under the order of Stalin.

"The same fate met not only Central Committee members but also the majority of the delegates of the 17th Party Congress. Of 1,966 delegates with either voting or advisory rights, 1,108 persons, i.e., more than a majority, were arrested on charges of anti-revolutionary crimes."

This very fact, Khrushchev reported, shows how absurd, wild and contrary to common sense were the charges of counter revolutionary crimes made out against a majority of participants at the 17th Party Congress.

Khrushchev added, "The mass repressions at this time were made under the slogan of 'Fight Trotskyites'. Did the Trotskyites at this time actually constitute such a danger to our Party and to the Soviet State? We should recall that in 1927, on the eve of the 15th Party Congress, only some 4,000 votes were cast for the Trotskyites and 724,000 for the Party line. During the 10 years which passed between the 15th Party Congress and the February-March Central Committee plenum, Trotskyism was completely disarmed. Many former Trotskyites had changed their former views and worked in the various sectors building socialism. It is clear that in the situation of socialist victory there was no basis for mass terror in the country."

Leon Trotsky fled for life to Mexico in 1937. On the evening of August 20, 1940, Trotsky was bludgeoned to death by one of Stalin's terrorists.

During the Moscow trials (1936-1938), Stalin sought to prove to the world that most of his comrades of the Bolshevik

October Revolution were spies, traitors, saboteurs and Trotsky himself had been in the pay of the enemies of the Soviet Union. Most of the arrested comrades confessed and pleaded guilty. Khrushchev revealed why innocent people had to confess. Those who had withstood the "pressures" to confess were never brought to trial, but either shot or shipped off to concentration camps by the administrative decree of Stalin or his Secret Police.

About the "Doctors Plot", Khrushchev disclosed that a woman doctor wrote a letter to Stalin in which she declared that doctors were applying supposedly improper methods of medical treatment. Stalin immediately reached a conclusion that there are doctor plotters in the Soviet Union. He curtly told the Minister of State Security, "If you do not obtain confessions from the doctors we will shorten you by a head."

In his report Khrushchev quoted the case of Comrade Eikhe as a typical illustration of Stalin's atrocities. "An example of vile provocation, of odious falsification and of criminal violation of revolutionary legality is the case of the former candidate for the Central Committee Political Bureau, one of the most eminent workers of the Party and of the Soviet Government, Comrade Eikhe, who was a Party member since 1905.

"Comrade Eikhe was forced under torture to sign ahead of time a protocol of his confession prepared by the investigating judges, in which he and several other eminent party workers were accused of anti-Soviet activity.

"On October 1, 1939, Eikhe sent his declaration to Stalin in which he categorically denied his guilt and asked for an examination of his case. In the declaration he wrote: 'There is no more bitter misery than to sit in the jail of a Government for which I have always fought.'

"In a second declaration of Eikhe which he sent to Stalin on October 27, 1939, he wrote, 'Had I been guilty of only one-

hundredth of the crimes with which I am charged, I would not have dared to send you this pre-execution declaration ; however, I have not been guilty of even one of the things with which I am charged and my heart is clean of even the shadow of baseness. I have never in my life told you a word of falsehood, and now finding my two feet in the grave, I am also not lying. My whole case is a typical example of a provocation, slander and violation of the elementary basis of revolutionary legality.'

On February 2, 1940, Eikhe was brought before the court. There he made the following statement :

"The most important thing for me is to tell the court, the Party and Stalin that I am not guilty. I have not been guilty of any conspiracy. I will die believing in the truth of party policy as I have believed in it during my whole life."

On February 4, 1940, Eikhe was shot.

The impact of Khrushchev's appraisal of Stalin and the epoch that ended with his death in 1953, was so shattering that the American Communist novelist and winner of the Stalin Prize, Howard Fast, proclaimed, "It itemizes a record of barbarism and paranoiac blood lust that will be lasting and shameful memory to civilized men."

The brutality that the document disclosed turned a legendary man whom I loved and admired to a wicked monster whom I began to hate. I had no tears to shed when in the bout of de-Stalinisation, Stalin's body was removed from the Lenin mausoleum and buried at the base of the Kremlin wall to fade into dust.

Lenin in his testament as early as December 25, 1922, warned the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party about Stalin. He wrote, "Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands, and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand, Comrade Trotsky, as was proved by his struggle against the Central Committee in connection with the question of the people's Com-

missariat of Ways and Communications is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities—personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee—but also by too far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.”

In the postscript on January 4, 1923, he added, “Stalin is too rude, and his fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position...”

In spite of Lenin’s warning Stalin stayed on and eliminating his rivals remained a complete master of the Kremlin for more than 20 years.

After Lenin’s demise Communism, it appears, fell under the influence of bad leadership or is it, as some believe, that the development of the theory of Marxism, more or less stopped with Lenin’s death?

Svetlana, Stalin’s daughter who now lives in the USA, in her recently published book *Only One Year*, testifying to her father’s lust for absolute power recalls the sumptuous but sterile lives of the top 10 politburo families, and the baseless arrests and execution from which not even Stalin’s own in-laws were immune.

“My mother’s sister, Anna had gone mad in prison and had come home a sick woman,” Svetlana disclosed. “Yevgenia Alliluyeva, the widow of mother’s brother... had signed all the accusations set before her: spying, poisoning her husband, contacts with foreigners.”

“You sign anything there,” she would say, “just to be left alone and not tortured.” At night no one could sleep for the shrieks of agony in the cells. Victims screamed in an unearthly way, begging to be killed, better to be killed...”

Stalin sent the two widows to prison. Aunt Yevgenia was

in solitary confinement for six years—because “they knew too much.” One of the things they knew was that Svetlana’s mother had committed suicide because at 31, she was ‘driven to despair’ by disillusionment with her husband and by the impossibility of changing anything.”

Comrade Stalin’s suspicion of all around him and his ruthlessness recounted above has its parallel only in that which characterised some of the Moghul monarchs of Indian history.

The historic Fort of Gwalior was used as a prison-house during the Moghul rule in India. For two centuries the rugged walls of the fort resounded with the wild shrieks and insane laughter of the tortured victims of a ruthless and unscrupulous monarchy.

A large cup filled with a beverage was given to the prisoners in the morning, and they were not given anything to eat until it be swallowed. Bernier, the French physician at the Moghul court, at the time of Aurangzeb, described this beverage as “nothing but poppy heads crushed and allowed to soak for a night in water. This drink, the physician recorded, emaciates the wretched victims, who lose their strength and intellect by slow degrees, become torpid and senseless and then die”.

Aurangzeb’s brother Murad and the Emperor’s own son Muhammed were among many who became the victims of such fantastic cruelty.

Svetlana concedes that her father, Stalin, was a “moral and spiritual monster” without a shred of conscience, but she condemns his Kremlin associates, the epitome of “yes men,” for collaborating with him in crime.

“By fearing to admit the Party’s guilt, and dumping all the blame on the terrible dead man, he (Khrushchev) had eloquently discredited not only himself but the entire Party,” she writes.

Svetlana assesses the current Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership which replaced Khrushchev as part of “the old despot tradition: that the nation remain mute, while the Kremlin alone spoke and made decisions.”

To professor Predrog Vranicki, a member of the editorial board of the Zagreb (Yugoslav) bimonthly *Praxis*, the inhumanity of the Soviet system "consists precisely in its disrespect for human beings, in its politization of society to such an extent that, in its human manifestations, the political sphere dominates man."

At the 10th Rumanian Communist Party Congress of August 6, 1969, 1,950 delegates and hundreds more of guests fell into a frozen hush when President Ceausescu of Rumania narrated the fabrication of purge trials which cost innocent men their lives and freedom in post-war Rumania by the Party Secretary, Gheorghu Dej. Yet he also ruled the country for 20 years.

In China, Mao sought a power-base among its teenagers to humiliate, oppress and oust the Head of the State, Liu Shao-chi, and other leaders of the Communist Party of China.

Now the question is why the founders of revolution are devoid of warmth even in dealing with their own comrades? Khrushchev attributed it to the personality cult. But how was it possible for Stalin or Gheorghu Dej to have succeeded in their criminal career and rule their countries for more than 20 years with the support of Communist organisations and bureaucracy, unless it is an inherent dangerous feature of the proletarian dictatorship?

This hateful feature is not limited to States where comrades have tasted power but also among Communist guerrilla bands operating to seize power. I quote below the summary of a Burmese book from a despatch from its Rangoon correspondent published in *The Statesman* on June 21, 1969, which has recently drawn much public attention.

The book, *The Days Of Thakin Than Tun*, published in May, 1969, in Burma by five top ranking Communists, has all the elements of a horror comic, plots and cold-blooded murders executed with unrivalled cruelty. It tells the story of how Thakin Than Tun, 58-year-old Chairman of the Burmese Com-

munist Party, turned a crazy killer under the evil spell of Mao thought and Peking-trained men, and trailed a bloody path to self-destruction.

The five co-authors, who are either captured or surrendered Communist rebel chiefs, nowhere in the book hint at renunciation of the creed. Their professed purpose is to stress that Thakin Than Tun's downfall was due to two "un-Marxist-Leninist" errors, namely, servile dependence on a foreign power (Communist China) and a carbon copy adoption of alien practices unsuited to Burmese conditions.

The book opens with a scene in a lonely rebel hide-out on the forest-clad Pegu Yoma hills, about 200 miles north-east of Rangoon. Here on June 11, 1963, Thakin Than Tun was pacing up and down his little bamboo hut, greatly agitated over the unexpected peace offer by the Revolutionary Government broadcast in the morning. From this scene, the book goes on to give an action-packed account of events leading to the failure of the peace parleys with the Government in November, 1963, of the deadly intra-party power struggle which followed this failure and the triumph of Peking-trained men in this struggle; of the move to breed young Burmese 'Red Guards' in order to launch a Peking-style Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Burma; of a fantastic exercise in hypocrisy called the "Life Forum Movement" in which young Red Guards were required to recount the bitterest experience in their lives—girl members for example, had to relate how they had been raped by their own fathers, and uncles; and of the wholesale massacre of peasants and farmers regarded as potential danger to the party. The book ends with a ghastly description of how Bo Yan Aung, a disgraced Central Committee member, was dragged out of his sick bed and executed in December, 1967, on framed-up charges of being a "revisionist" and an opponent of the party's militant Peking-line.

Apart from the recounting of a dreadful drama of tortures and executions, the book contains a good deal of inside information which would ordinarily have been lost in the archives of the party. Thus it is revealed that the Chinese Embassy in

Rangoon directed the activities of B. C. P. Preliminary Peace Mission which came down to the capital for negotiations with the Government in 1963. When the negotiations broke down, a bitter controversy erupted in the party politburo whether the party had been right in doing certain things—such as, strengthening its Agitprop and espionage set-up in Rangoon—while the talks with the Government were going on.

Old-timers like Mr. H. N. Ghosal—a Burma-born Indian national and founder-member of the B.C.P.—took the line that the party had been at fault. He argued that in thus abusing the trust of the Government, the party had compromised the chances of success of the talks. He openly criticised Chairman Thakin Than Tun for this, but Peking-trained men, such as Yebas Aung Gyi and Thakin Pu, took the opposite view and justified the party's actions on tactical and ideological grounds.

The party politburo sought a decision from Peking, and some months later Peking gave the verdict that the party had been right. From this time on, Peking-trained Burmese became all-powerful in the party and inspired Thakin Than Tun to become Burma's Mao Tse-tung through a two-year "Red Power in Burma" plan. Then followed purges and liquidation in the party and torture killings of suspects outside the party.

Here is how Mr. Ghosal and Comrade Htay (former Party Secretary) were executed together for being "revisionists and pacifists."

The entire party HQ, then set up temporarily on the eastern fringes of Tharrawaddy district, was in a wild flutter on June 18, 1967. Curses and oaths filled the air.

Comrade Htay and Ghosal, hamstrung and severely man-handled by young Red Guards, lay on the ground as Chairman Thakin Than Tun looked on standing.

Htay mumbled defiantly, "We rely on no one (for the revolution). We don't have Chinese masters; that's our stand, We stick to it."

At this impertinence, a Red Guard leaped forward and delivered a vicious blow on Htay's face. Other Red Guards, including Htay's 15-year-old son, Po Htoo, joined in and attacked the prisoners with fists and sticks.

Htay, ill for many weeks and half-starved, emerged out of the ordeal with a swollen face, with blood streaming down the wounds.

Red Guards also attacked Ghosal in a similar manner. In a few moments Ghosal's body was scarlet-red with blood from the wounds.

A party functionary then "framed charges" in angry tones against the two prisoners. No sooner had he finished than Po Htoo, young son of Htay, rushed forward in apparent rage and boxed his father's ear. As the father reeled forward, the son cut across his face with the palm. Blood trickled down Htay's nose, whereupon the son picked up a thick bamboo pole and hit his father's head with it shouting; "I myself will kill this traitor, I myself will open his throat."

Htay by this time lay half-dazed on the ground.

Htay and Ghosal were then dragged to the two graves already dug for them.

Reaching the edge of his pit Ghosal began to hum the "Internationale." Htay also started shouting in Burmese; "Long live the Burmese Communist Party."

Their voices grew faint and then disappeared altogether as the Communist executioners dipped daggers deep into their chests repeatedly.

How is it that Communism succeeds in hypnotising the son against the father so much so that he loses all rational sense which differentiates a man from a beast?

Ah, Marx, what crimes are committed in thy name!

But the human mind and soul are not to be defeated because they come from God.

3

BETWEEN
THE TWO
WORLD

Even if the Soviet Union or Communist China wants to force other countries to turn to Communism by some means short of a nuclear war, neither can do so for the simple reason that the countries of Western Europe and other areas, while protecting internal order and peace and maintaining domestic prosperity and high standard of living, are, at the same time, prepared for outside threats by possessing their own arms and securing the co-operation of the United States.

—Kiyoh Aichi, Foreign Minister of Japan.

In Berlin, we—Mr. Sarkar, Editor of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, and myself—were viewing a TV show which had for its subject India's struggle against poverty. The film, a joint German-US venture, depicted aspects of India with which the average Westerner is generally more familiar: stray bulls holding up traffic in Calcutta streets, people in rags inhabiting open pavements, undernourished children sporting in the streets, stampede for a pull at Lord Jagannath's chariot at Puri, beggars pestering people in public places and how people die and are cremated at Banaras.

This was India—primitive style. The next part of the film went to show what India was going to be—with foreign assistance. It showed how UNICEF milk was feeding children, missionary women were taking care of the neglected, and the USSR, West Germany and the United Kingdom were building steel plants at Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur.

We felt ill at ease. On the face of it, India certainly was progressing, but, it appeared, as if she was borrowing glory which was not her own. Our six-week hurricane tour of West Germany and Great Britain in 1960 led to this agonising realisation along with many others. The tour was not negative though it was refreshing from the point of view of gaining experience and being able to make many friends and exchange ideas with them.

There is a wonderful dynamism in the Western life that amazes an Indian. One especial characteristic of the Indo-Gangetic civilisation is that it is built on successes not achieved with great endeavour. This ancient country has been the burial ground of many hordes of aggressors who came down heroically, conquered but ended by losing their vitality in its peculiar climatic conditions.

In Europe we found even the affluent class has a dynamic life and a creative mind which spends its energies, when not in work, on diverse recreations at holiday resorts or mountaineering. Ours is a lazy lot.

The Westerners do not care for their life so much as we in the enervating climate of India do. To serve a right cause they do not hesitate to sacrifice their life. This imparts a sense of purpose—the purpose to work and prosper and to die in the process, if necessary—to the Western attitude on life and the nations honour their dead heroes and perpetuate their memory for future generations. Warriors' Memorial at Edinburgh Castle and the unknown soldiers' memorial at the Westminster Abbey, where Bernard Shaw's ashes have not yet found a place, are but a few more glorious instances.

Great Britain, more than any other country, has an ardent love for tradition. In retaining old customs, habits and ceremonies Britons are staunch traditionalists, and some of their institutions like the Speaker's procession, the change of guards at Buckingham Palace and even their very dress, may appear funny to us now, but they have preserved them all right.

We saw many modern buildings where portions of ancient architecture were kept intact as a reminder of the past. We felt that London was not much different from Calcutta, and even particular buildings like the Stock Exchange and the Mint were similar. Traffic jam and smog are common to both crowded cities.

"Society," said Burke, "is a partnership between the dead, the living and the unborn." England has kept to this ideal with the strictest sincerity. The people of England know how to draw sustenance from the past, keep going with the times and provide for the security of the future. Oxford and Cambridge, which we visited, were at first only a cluster of chapels where theological education was imparted. When they changed over to Protestantism, four Roman Catholic Bishops died to defend their faith and, in the right English tradition, were honoured in memorials which exist to this day.

With the spread of education and modern knowledge, Oxford and Cambridge adapted themselves to changed circumstances and ultimately came to be the biggest residential universities in the

world. Yet the spirit of olden times is there, and walking within the premises of the various colleges of these university towns, we felt like journeying into mediaeval England.

Student unrest and campus disorder, a world-wide phenomenon, also affected Oxford and Cambridge recently. The British education authorities coped with the situation by opening new universities at Sussex and Essex in an environment favourable to present-day needs without disturbing the age-old traditions and prestige of Oxford and Cambridge.

England has taken the most useful position between the old and the new, between tradition and progress, between the past and the future. It is this inherent characteristic that preserves in the country the biggest monarchy in the world today and at the same time makes it the parent of democracy. The sun, it is said, never went down in the British Empire. The sun still never goes down in the British Commonwealth. And Mr. Duncan Sandys, the then Commonwealth Secretary of State, was right when he told us that "the British have their foot everywhere," although under a changed economic and political order. We visited Shaw's Corner and had a pleasant night at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon witnessing 'Merchant of Venice'. The birthplace of the bard of Avon is kept much like the times when he lived, a thing which we much appreciated. In Germany Mr. Sarkar initiated me into the worlds of Beethoven and Wagner. We had interesting discussion with Yehudi Menuhin about the possibility of orchestration of Indian music. We shunned night clubs and modern music as, in our estimation, they were boring and vulgar.

The western nations today are passing through a period of remarkable economic prosperity, and this is having its inevitable reaction on the political life. In fact, accumulation of wealth in the hand of the common people and the consequent rise in their standard of life are breeding a crisis in the leftist politics of England and Germany. Conservative parties in both countries are becoming increasingly progressive in outlook and are also in a way serving the have-nots, so that left parties are tending to fall out of favour.

Marx predicted that the first socialist revolution will occur in the countries of advanced capitalism because of the growing working class, which had nothing to lose but its chain.

The Communist movement grew out of the injustices of the industrial revolution on the European continent, and nobody in the last century thought a Communist revolution possible anywhere but in the European heartland.

In the wake of the First World War, Communism, it appeared, would penetrate into western Europe. In Bavaria and in Hungary, Soviet Republics were proclaimed. But the western nations intervened and supported "White Russian Armies" in order to overthrow the Soviet Government. The Bavarian and the Hungarian Soviet Republics collapsed. The prospect of Communism in Europe also suffered a setback following the Spanish civil war and the rise of Hitler in Germany.

After the Second World War, a front line between East and West—Communist and non-Communist—Europe was drawn. Defeated Germany was split. The whole of Eastern Europe became a zone of influence of the Soviet Union. Both East and West organised their defence and economic systems—NATO and OEED (Organisation for European Economic Development) in the West, the Warsaw Pact and COMECON in the East.

Then followed an era of Cold War. When the Russian threatened the status of Berlin, the U.S. Government for whom Europe is an important strategical link in the chain of its world commitments, showed its readiness to resist, if necessary, by force.

After the Cuban crisis, a *status quo* on the European continent was established and an improvement of relations between nations on both sides of the Iron Curtain became possible. Western capitalists, as Lenin predicted, could "bribe" their own proletariates through higher wages and thus stave off the revolution in their own countries. In the western countries today, the workers may be discontented, but they have too large a share in prosperity to want a revolution.

One thing that struck us as a unique development is the fact that capitalism was also changing face as seen from the increasing Tory following among Britain's small traders and shop assistants. By mooting welfare laws and accepting many labour ideals, the Tories have vastly liberalized their organisation which is presently spelling crisis for Labour. But in our talks with Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Duke of Devonshire, Sir William Haley, the editor of *The Times* and Mr. Atken, Conservative M.P., we found how the crisis in the Labour Party had set many Tories thinking.

In Germany, the Social Democratic Party of Willy Brandt is not much different from the Christian Democrat, and the Social Democrats are no more thinking in terms of nationalisation except for atom for peace etc.

In fact, the distinction in the West now is between progressive conservatism on the one hand and Communism on the other. The intermediate parties are finding it a difficult existence and are being grabbed into the fold of either of the two extremes. But the truth is that the Communist parties in Germany, England and the U.S.A. are no longer forces to count with, while capitalism, enlightened by the changing times is gaining prestige and taking Western nations into higher and still higher standards of living.

Large scale planning—state intervention by means of taxation and consequent affluence of the workers, have a stabilising effect on the capitalist system and the working class has developed a stake—a vested interest in the established order.

The real menace to free society is not Communism but poverty. An economic struggle, essentially with hunger, and want as its driving forces—puts on Communist dress. Underdeveloped countries in Asia and Africa can accelerate their economic growth by warding off the temptation of Communist techniques only on one condition. Much greater effort will have to be made by Western countries to assist the poorer members of the world family to quicken the pace of their development. For this the volume of foreign aid had to be increased on relatively easy terms even if this means sacrifices for the lending countries.

But again, it is extremely doubtful if aid from outside can alone accelerate the economic growth of a country unless it has the requisite skill and know-how to make the best use of that aid. Money is only one of the instruments, and development primarily means technological change.

Many countries received abundant aid from the U.S.A., but that only corrupted those regimes and filled many a private coffer.

The rapid build-up since 1948 of German Industry, severely damaged through wartime bombing by allies and the dismantling of machines by the occupying authorities, amazed us. We discussed with Prof. Erhard, the then Vice-Chancellor and Economics Minister, Dr. Von Brentano, the Foreign Minister, Willy Brandt, the present Chancellor, who was then the Governing Mayor of West Berlin, and others about this economic miracle of West Germany. It was the result of the Marshall Plan Aid, inter-European co-operation, the will of the people to survive, the engineering skill and hard team work between the employers and the workers.

In India we are passing through a peculiar crisis of development. Having adopted mixed economy as our medium of progress, that is, having retained something of capitalism and at the same time taking to some of the socialist ideals, we have an uncertain middle course which has killed individual initiative and at the same time has not achieved any very spectacular success of State enterprise.

We in India are poised to jump from the days of the ox cart to the age of atomic power. But the gap intervening is deep and wide, and we have not the experience to push ourselves forward.

Having become independent with our teeming population ignorant of modern technical knowledge and power vesting wholly with the upper middle class, there is cause for great doubts about the success of democracy in India. After all, what is democracy? It is not universal franchise as it is often pictured to be. In the free world, democracy is no longer a Government by the people, or with the consent of the people, for the element of consent is there even in the cases of Communist Governments. Democracy is a situation in which the people can at

their own will kick out one party and return to another. This possibility of a return to a second party is truly the most important criterion of democracy; for, it is this that guards a nation from Fascism and dictatorship and helps it to administer its fate according to its own free choice.

It is for this reason that the crisis in the British Labour party in the 1960's was causing grave concern to the Government circles. Many diehard Tories expressed to us their anxiety that unless the Labour Party was good enough to be a strong opposition party, the Tories might eventually come to possess absolute power and that would mean the end of democracy.

We were really amazed to discover the vitality inherent in the German people to survive catastrophies. Within thirty years in the present century, Germany waged two world wars and was defeated. But the darkness of defeat has been transformed into a blaze of triumph within a span of fourteen years.

The territory of the German Reich of 1937, which has shrunk considerably since 1945 (it has lost about 44,000 sq. miles) is a split country. The city of Berlin itself is a reminder of the great divide. We visited both West and East Berlin. The scars of war still exist in the East, while in the West luxurious skyscrapers give a wonderful facelift to a fading beauty.

The story of the Krupps is more or less the story of postwar Germany. We visited their concern at Essen and were their luncheon guests. Their factories were bombed out, and the machines still remaining were dismantled and looted by the victors of war. The head of the family was sentenced to imprisonment. After release, unbroken in spirit, he sold out some real property, took loans from Marshall Aid Funds, collected old workers, supplied the needs of occupation authorities and rebuilt his present modernized factory.

This is more or less the history of every German industrial house, including the Mercedes-Benz. Visitors from all over the world look enviously at the elegant shops, shining cars and glittering lights of a new industrial society.

The inherent German capacity for survival is also abun-

dantly demonstrated in their remarkable success in the rehabilitation of refugees. At Geresried, about 22 miles from Munich, we learnt at first hand what this had really meant. In 1938, the year before the war was declared, Hitler established here an ammunition factory hidden in a wood where 8,000 workers were employed. When after the war the U.S. Army was destroying the factory, the then provisional Government of Bavaria requested the U.S. Command to spare the buildings for the shelter of refugees.

The first batch of 600 refugees arrived at Geresried. Among them were many industrialists who rehabilitated themselves, in their own lines. They started chemical factories, manufactured musical instruments, textiles, confectioneries, etc. In 1960, this city of 7,000 exported 100 per cent of their products, mostly to America and Austria. In 1959, it paid 143m DM in taxes alone.

Refugees, most of them farmers, craftsmen and middle-class petty bourgeois, have been flowing in steadily from East Berlin and East Germany. Since the end of the war 3.4 million people have moved in from the Soviet Zone. There is an elaborate screening of refugees in reception camps, which helps political intelligence and is a barometer of political condition and pressure in the Soviet Zone.

Refugees come for all sorts of reasons. Changed social structure, a feeling of being unfree, collectivisation in all spheres, violation of privacy and no religion have all contributed to the continuous influx.

There are personal reasons, too. We met a young girl, hairdresser by profession, who had come to work in East Berlin on a one-year permit. She fell in love with a boy in West Berlin, and when her permit was not renewed, she came over as a refugee.

Some decide to come over with the hope that they would be able to live in comparative prosperity. When expectations are belied, they go back. But this is rare and the number of such refugees amounts to 5 to 7 per cent.

How did Germany solve her colossal refugee problem? The fundamental factor was that there was no hostility toward refugees and their rehabilitation came to be tackled on a truly national scale. Every state had to receive its quota of refugees, and each did it gladly because there was shortage of manpower in the country. People who had their property undestroyed by the war were made to contribute as taxes, 50 per cent of the value of their property for the benefit of refugees. It would appear to us to be a revolutionary measure that helped the nation tremendously to tide over financial difficulties.

The Government made it a point to rehabilitate refugees in their own past occupations as much as possible and advanced loans for five years at a low rate of interest.

West Germany, as we have said, is short of manpower and has to import labour from Italy, Spain and the Netherlands. At the same time she is in the midst of hectic industrial activity. The Mercedes-Benz, for instance, are so tremendously busy supplying orders from abroad that a German citizen has to wait up to 24 months before he can buy a car.

This preoccupation at home is one reason why Germans are chary of investing abroad. During discussions with top industrialists of West Germany we raised the question of German collaboration in India's development. But they apparently were not very enthusiastic. One of them commented straightaway: "Why should I go to India when I have so many things to do here?"

The West German team of top industrialists and bankers that visited India, last year (1969), pleaded for a liberal policy in the matter of private foreign investment. "Irritant", said the leader of the visiting delegation, "must go." What irritates the foreign investor most is the havoc played by the red tape. German industrialists, as a matter of fact nobody, invest money on sentiment. There is a country of quick decisions. One bluntly said that it was "donkey work" in India. We met a foreign investor of Hamburg who was interested in exploring possibilities of collaboration in a certain project in India. "We sent a man to India", he said, "to know conditions there; but

he had to be pulled out because his visa was not renewed after twelve months."

And when all is said, there may still be another reason, a small one but interesting, for this reluctance to come to India. It is the fear of adverse climate. I remember a family who had come to work here finding it extremely difficult to adjust itself to the hot Indian summer. On a particularly perspiring day their child commented: "Mummy, mummy, something is wrong with me, I'm becoming water."

Incidentally, for us in Europe weather was no problem. We were lucky in weather and wherever we went the weather god smiled on us. Luck did not desert us even when we were atop the Alps.

It may not be out of context here to point to the strange and suicidal policy of the Indian Government in respect of Indians living abroad.

We met many Indians in Munich, Berlin and Cologne, some have been living in Germany for as long as 12 years. They are eager to come home and give the benefit of their training to the country for its development. But facilities are not given them by the Government of India; and even if they get a chance, they are offered jobs on Rs. 250 to Rs. 300 a month when some of them are already earning about Rs. 1,200 a month in German concerns.

This is a great damper. In a reception at Cologne there were about ten Indians, all drawing a salary of 2,000 DM per month in German firms. Some of them had applied for jobs in Assam oil refinery in response to a Government circular but did not receive even any acknowledgment of their applications. Even German firms collaborating with India cannot send out their Indian personnel, because the Government of India has a peculiar sentiment that Germans with less qualifications are preferred to Indians.

Complaints were heard particularly about the callousness of Indian Embassy's staff abroad. Some Embassy officials are

even said to discourage Indians living abroad from going home with the comment: "After all, you are serving your country by earning foreign exchange."

Cut off as they are from home, Indians in West Germany, as in many other European countries, are more often than not prone to frustration. Many of them have married German girls and have settled there.

Caught as they are between two powerful giants—the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.—and lying in the centre of the area of tension, the people of West Berlin, we thought, must be suffering from the strain of tension and uncertainty. But, surprisingly, the common men betrayed no inner conflict and, instead, worked hard for creating wealth and cared more for the pleasures of material life. This relentless pursuit of productivity has led to a decline of interest in politics.

This attitude to life has its danger, an individual can be intellectually and emotionally manipulated to accept a war, submit to a dictator, or develop a new need.

The history of Germany records repeated resort to what may be called the Father Image, a heroic leader either as a symbol or as a saviour. The personalization of authority is welcome to the people, though this is open to abuse by a Hitler.

It is an interesting sidelight on the German political outlook today to know how Hitler is remembered by the present generation. There is a general tendency to paint Hitler in the blackest colour, the years of the Fuehrer's reign from 1933 to 1945 are mentioned in German history books as a dark period and is omitted from text books. Teachers in schools only refer to him in stray words and refuse to elaborate lest children should ask them embarrassing questions. But many however still remember him gratefully for the one really good act he did for Germany, that is, construction of a network of highways known as *autobahnen*, connecting all important cities.

From Munich we went to see Hitler's hide-out at a place called Berchtesgaden. The guide who showed us

round the Eagle's Nest, which was the Fuehrer's residence, and other notable land-marks, was a Hungarian soldier who had fought with Hitler's army. He was a jolly good fellow and never forgot to remind us repeatedly that Hitler and Hitlerism is dead.

We spent an interesting afternoon at the General Walker Hotel in Berchtesgaden, which was a sort of headquarters of the American occupation army.

Mr. Walker was an American general who was killed in Korea in 1952. Having been asked whether the General was killed in operation, our guide replied with a broad laughter: "Well, no general is killed in combat. General Walker was run over by a truck."

He regaled us by giving a cunning estimate of soldiers of different countries of the world. The Japanese, according to him, were the best of the lot, the French were experts in running away, the Germans were fanatics, while the Italians surrendered with gay dresses on, as if they were going to a marriage party.

But the good fellow, we hoped, would never more have any big occasion to go to war. War as a method of settlement, of disputes is coming increasingly to be regarded as foolish. The sinister clouds of aggressive nationalism and parochialism are melting, and the nations of the world no longer want to feed fat old grudges and argue with history. The Atomic Age has brought in its wake a totally new sense of community of interests even between enemies. After the tragedy of Hiroshima, people have become conscious of the tremendous destructibility of nuclear weapons, a consciousness that no one will come out victorious in a nuclear war.

This in itself is a deterrent and helps to maintain international peace. It is a great triumph of American diplomacy that the erstwhile enemy has been made the strongest ally and in West Germany, the Foreign Minister, Dr. Brentano spoke about the federation of European states, and the then British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, hinted at the merger of the U. K. and the U.S.A. Even the Communist countries have come to realize it, and coexistence has come to be the new politics of the Atomic Age.

4

THE BIG
BROTHER
—USA

No matter what the colour of your eyes, the only way to gain real acquaintance with the colour, flavour, passions and problems of a country is to visit it.

It was September 1958. After a thrilling experience of the army, navy and air force life in Lebanon with the American troops, which landed there to "contain" Communism, I went to London and from there crossed over to New York to participate in the Asian Newspaper Executives' Seminar at Columbia University, organised by the American Press Institute.

Among the very best people I met in the U.S.A. was the President of the Overseas Press Club, a former *New York Times* correspondent in Moscow, who had successfully enticed away a charming Muscovite girl to abandon her Red homeland for a loving husband.

As a journalist who had visited both the Soviet Union and China, I was much sought after in the U.S.A.

At the Overseas Press Club dinner reception to the Asian journalists, I was seated next to the wife of the President of the Club. My visit to Moscow helped make fast the bond between her and me. But the relationship seemed immediately endangered as she looked with cold eye at me as soon as I failed in my manly duty to light her cigarette.

My neighbour, a gallant Polish refugee, proved more chivalrous. I bemoaned my fate. I apologised and submitted: "It is not a custom with Muscovite girls to smoke in public." The lady flicked off the ashes from the cigarette end into the ashtray and said: "That's primitive; Communists always hide themselves from the general gaze".

The cigarette between her lips flamed like the searching ray of a lighthouse. She looked like a tigress poised to spring. In being too hasty, I had damaged my case.

The food served was a welcome interruption for me. To replenish my lost vitality, I was ready with my knife and fork to chisel the chunk of meat on my plate. But as soon as I put

a bit into my mouth, she said teasingly, "You are a bad Hindu. You are eating the sacred cow's meat."

I never felt more embarrassed. It was, indeed, a "steak" dish known for its delicacy—yet untouched by me.

Provoked by her I became cold and said, "I am eating the meat of the American cow. It is the Indian cow which is sacred."

With a broad smile, she turned to me, touched my arm and exclaimed, "How clever you are! I invite you to a drink after dinner."

But my hottest feud started with some glamorous eves, who, *clad in flimsy tights and brief costumes*, were objects of both attention and attraction. The Goddess of Wisdom bestowed courage on me and I was expanding the theory that Indian boys and girls are kept separated in schools and parents still arrange marriages for their children giving them the benefit of their better judgment and wider experience. The girls not only claimed their system as better, but also condemned the outdated family life in India where the elders dominated the younger members and forced girls to accept unwanted "husbanding."

But behind the glamour and glitter of the American life, I discovered instances where this freedom of the children to go as they pleased had caused heartbreak in many mothers. Two mothers, who were neighbours in New Jersey State, confided to me at an evening party that their wards, a boy and a girl, aged only 12 and 14, respectively, were going too fast and had become a source of worry to them.

Yet another mother (of Madison, Wisconsin State) who, for reasons best known to her, developed a positive dislike for Parisian gallants spent sleepless nights when her daughter started going out with a Parisian boy. The mother was relieved only when a more desirable suitor appeared on the scene and won the sport.

These anxious mothers, who have the welfare of their children too much at heart, want to strike a balance between the Indian and the American systems.

An American lady confided to me that her husband was a better cook than she was, and he enjoyed doing the job. But for an Indian husband it might not be so much fun, I thought.

Since servants are impossible for any but the wealthiest to find and maintain in America, we found in middle class families husbands helped make beds, do dish-washing, sweep side-walks. Family life in America is more democratic and there is a greater sharing of household chores between husband and wife.

New York, a gay city otherwise, has an intimidating appearance, because of racial discrimination and gang warfare. In New York, we were advised to keep aloof from Central Park after 10 o'clock at night. Actually a gentleman of the Indian Embassy was beaten up and robbed a few days before our arrival. The fast pace of life, electronic gadgets, dollar chasing, hostility towards V. K. Krishna Menon, then our Defence Minister and head of the delegation to the U.N., the overuse of alcohol, the overwhelming din of television and radio ultimately proved depressing to me. Neon and bill board advertisements in Times Square assault your eyes every minute. When driving across the countryside one soon gets tired of the frequent sights of mountain heaps of abandoned automobiles as scraps.

When we went for shopping in New York, the drug store man added something to the price of the nylon suitcase I purchased. To my query, he said that it was the "federal tax—it is what all of us here pay to keep you fellows going". This big brotherly arrogance of some Americans would sometimes wound your feelings.

We were, however, delighted that Americans all over the country invited and welcomed us into their homes and were interested in mutual problems.

In California I was a guest of Carroll W. Parcher, Editor and Publisher, *The Glandale (Calif) News Press*. Mr. and Mrs.

Parcher were very much enthusiastic about me and my country. According to them "the next best thing to travelling in foreign lands is to have visitors from foreign lands visit you in your own land."

The couple drove me round to Glendale's Forest Laws Memorial Park, Farmer's Market, a Republican rally, at which President Eisenhower spoke, and to Hollywood. He wrote in the *Publisher's Corner* in his paper about the things he had learned from me "during a couple of dinners and luncheons and some sort of sightseeing trips."

He wrote: "Cows are not particularly regarded as holy animals in India, as most visitors to the country seem to believe. Rather they are esteemed as the source of the life-giving fluid which provides the nourishment for most babies and are, therefore, revered as a mother might be. And they aren't slaughtered and eaten for the same reason Westerners don't eat dogs. They are considered an important part of the family. . . .

"Indian meals are centred around rice or grain, rather than around meat, with vegetables playing an important part in the diet.

"Indian parents still arrange marriages for their offspring giving, as Mr. Das Gupta puts it, the benefit of their better judgment and wider experience in these matters. And boys and girls are kept separated in schools and social gatherings (a custom, incidentally, which did not arouse any particular enthusiasm in the Princess Royal, who expressed herself as sort of believing that the American methods at least equally as good). . . .

"Woman's place in India still is pretty much in the home where she is both respected and protected, but possibly not consulted to any great extent. (I think our guests were a little surprised at the fact that the lady of the house both cooked and served dinner, assisted by the princess. I'm not sure whether they thought I should be doing it, or provide a half dozen or so servants to do the work, as seems to be the custom in similar Indian homes).

"Indian women don't keep their figures so well as American women, especially after the age of 30, when they tend to become more than a trifle plump."

In San Francisco many of my Asian friends developed the fancy to purchase for their wives various items of lingerie which they were shy to purchase themselves. There was also the problem of translating Asian sizes into American terms. When Mrs. Stucky, wife of William M. Stucky, Associate Director of the American Press Institute, came up to act as their shopping consultant, very few could give approximate measurements as they did not carry any vital statistics of their wives.

The Hawaii Island is more Japanese than American. We, in India, have our minority problems and so we were pleased to discover the racial harmony in the tiny island. When we were shopping in Honolulu, a friend asked a sales girl if she was Japanese. The girl proudly said, "I am an American—of Japanese extraction." Indian minorities are yet to cultivate such mentality.

U. S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey gave us a brilliant talk at the roundtable at Columbia University, New York, explaining U.S. foreign policy. We felt that a towering personality was speaking with sincerity and from conviction. After he had left some members observed, "It's refreshing to find you have a man like that in your Senate. Are there others?" We were told that the Senate abounds in many such luminaries.

But later on, I was amused when going through the terse remarks of John F. Kennedy about Senators in the U.S.A. in his book *Profiles in Courage*. He wrote: "While I am reluctant to believe in the total depravity of the Senate I place but little dependence on the honesty and truthfulness of a large portion of the Senators. A majority of them are small lights, mentally weak and wholly unfit to be Senators. Some are vulgar demagogues some are men of wealth who have purchased their position men of narrow intellect, limited comprehension, low partisan prejudice . . ."

Plato was of the opinion that property corrupts and so the ruler must not have property and family. Sanction to own property will lead the ruler to corruption. Hence Plato made marriage and property alien to philosophers (rulers), who, he thought, will be governed by reason and not by passions. That is why he classified citizens into three categories: Philosophers, warriors and proletarians representing the three instincts of human beings, viz. reason, courage and passions corresponding to the Hindu classification of citizens as Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Sudras representing "satta", "raja" and "tamo gunas".

Professionalism was first introduced in politics by Lenin. Professional politicians are comparatively newcomers on the Indian scene. Prior to independence, politics was considered to be a patriotic service. It attracted the best brains of the country, who left lucrative jobs to join the freedom struggle, which alone was the politics in those days. There was hardly an element of personal profit.

People now enter politics as they would any other profession like teaching, medicine and law to earn both fame and future.

The organisation of a political party nowadays also requires trained and wholetime workers in order to educate the masses in the task of governance, not only during electioneering but in the interval between general elections. With the extension of the sphere of state activity, the people's representatives are also required to devote most of their working time to political or related work. This has made politics an activity of those who are either idle or have nothing else gainful to do.

Gradually, second rate people have come to dominate our political scene and moneybags and hooliganism have become deciding factors in success at the polls.

In spite of all that President Kennedy said, American democracy has survived all other governments of its kind during the last 180 years.

We journalists in India lament that since independence the

Indian Press has lost its idealism. The crusading spirit and the zeal for public causes are conspicuous by their absence in our present-day newspapers. In the American Press Institute roundtables I expressed the view that spiritual values had been displaced by commercial considerations—which is adversely affecting the health and efficiency of newspapers in India. I cited instances of how journalists' sphere of autonomy was often encroached upon by publishers prompted by business needs and political interests, I mentioned how proprietor-editors were usurping the power and prestige of working editors in India.

I am sorry to say my points hardly impressed the Americans. Their slogan is : "He who pays the piper, has the right to call the tune".

According to them a good newspaper has to be produced by a most difficult combination of idealism and practicality ; of business acumen and creative imagination ; of craft and arts ; of men and machines ; and of enlightened self-interest and disinterested public service. All are mutually dependent. It is not enough for newspapermen to talk about idealism and freedom of the Press. A newspaper must develop an internal strength to sustain itself ; so behind each idealistic item on the programme there is the practicality of the shop. American newspapers regard a reader as more of a "client" than a "customer". The editor or publisher owes all his loyalties to his client—the reader—in return for the few cents he pays daily for the paper. The newspaper must inform, entertain, become the advocate for the reader, his "watch dog" in governments that belong to him but which have become so vast and complex that the reader has neither the time nor facilities to do the "watch dog" job himself. The confidence of the people in their newspaper must be great or they will have no confidence in the information about their governments. If they lose confidence in their information ; they lose confidence in self-government. "Government" to most Americans is local government—enforcement of law and order by the local police, fire protection, sanitation, schools, local ports, traffic and transportation, and local taxes.

The ideal newspaper story, picture, comment or interpreta-

tion on a story about government—local, state or national—provides information on the question: “How will this affect the readers of this newspaper in this community?”

Americans are well-known salesmen. We came in contact with people who tried to persuade, cajole, seduce, shock, or dazzle us into accepting their views. It was very interesting to listen to them.

One such outstanding man whom we met at San Francisco was a dock worker, introduced to us as Eric Hoffer, longshoreman, philosopher and author. He started by saying that he would not wonder if we had not felt at home in the United States, and said, “No Englishman or Frenchman or any other European or Asian feels at home here because he comes from a class society, and the United States is the world’s first mass society.”

He said that we would never willingly cease exploiting the masses: if we did, that would bring about the downfall of our own, the intellectual class. He assured us that workers in the United States would continue to demand higher wages because, he said, “we do the world’s work, and we deserve the rewards.”

It is true that the countries of Asia and Europe, products of class civilisations patronised by kings, maharajas and feudal aristocrats, are riddled with many social anomalies. All along their courses of history, one class has been exploited by another and this has resulted in revolt by the suppressed classes. With independence, power in most of them came to the hands of the upper middle class which was indolent and corrupt, so that Communism came to some to protect the common people, while the military took over in others to build anew. This is the story of China and North Vietnam, of Burma, Pakistan and the countries in West Asia.

During the war American policy under President Roosevelt was to prevent the European allies from restoring their Eastern empires. The creation of the United States was itself a result of revolutionary anti-colonial struggle. The USA supported India’s struggle for independence. At that time, to us—Indian revolutionaries—the prevailing image of America was that of a

country that represented the great hope of mankind in contrast to the other imperialistic, colonial Western powers. We believed that the USA neither wished nor was in a position to create an empire, that it did not wage wars of conquest. The U.S.A., both in the First and Second World Wars, intervene on the side of justice and democracy.

In the Second World War, the U.S.A. fought on the side of the U.S.S.R. against Hitler but no sooner had the war ended than we found the world still tragically divided into warring camps, squandering precious resources on armaments of mass destruction.

In early 1954, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles enunciated the doctrine that the United States would rely "primarily on the capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of its own choosing" whenever there was attack. This "massive retaliation doctrine" dominated American thinking for most of the Eisenhower era.

With tremendous industrial and technological power and the monopoly of the atom bomb, the U.S.A. created a romantic image of itself. In its search for local nationalist leaders to contain Communism the U.S.A. became the ally of incompetent and dictatorial regimes in the East and came under condemnation as imperialist and neo-colonialist.

Walt Rostow, President Johnson's principal adviser on national security, in his book *View from the Seventh Floor*, stated that the U.S.A. should guarantee for itself the kind of world environment that would permit free development of its institutions and way of life. To put it roughly, this was the doctrine of the "World's policeman"—under the aegis of which the country entered the Vietnam war.

Whether its self-appointed role of promoting and defending democracy the world over endows it with imperialistic characteristics or not, there is no doubt that its European allies live in a continent which, if the Americans with their big police baton

or big generous purse are not around, will be Communist-dominated or at least Finlandised.

For this mission of saving peace and civilisation,—America alone in one year is spending for military purposes almost exactly the equivalent of the gross national product of Afghanistan, Ceylon, India, Nepal and Pakistan, an area inhabited by more than 600 million people.

How U.S. military expenditure has become a self-propelled mechanism was evident when in 1962 President Kennedy stated that the principal reason for the resumption of nuclear testing was to keep engineers at work, but for which he would not be able to keep the laboratories going. The U.S.A. has built up a technological force that does not fit into the peaceful economy of the country.

After spending 80 billion dollars in military expenditure and having more than forty-two treaty commitments to as many countries to intervene "in case of aggression", the U.S.A., if it continues to go in the present direction, will find itself constantly involved in war. One result of that, it is also feared in America, will be that more and more black people who will be fighting those wars, will come back to become guerrillas at home, to fight for "the right of self-determination" or "national liberation".

If you scan U.S. history, you will find hundred dollars was made on the sale of the first Negro slave.

There was Abraham Lincoln. He not only staked his political career but also his life on the issue which threatened to distintegrate the nation. "Black ghettos" are yet black spots of American society.

Fletcher Martin, reporter for the *Chicago Sun-Times* and first Negro newspaperman to hold a Nieman Fellowship of Harvard, gave us a vivid impression of the background and status of race relations in the U.S. at the roundtable at Columbia University, New York. He told us how an old white lady,

after he had saved her, from stumbling on the road, spat on his face because he was black. A friend from Pakistan asked him if it was true that most American whitemen had negro mistresses. Others among us, however, wondered whether most Americans, who could not afford to have a maid servant, could afford to have a mistress in these days of high costs.

An organisation called the Black Panther Party has come into being in October, 1966, in the U.S.A. whose motto is the famous quotation from Mao: "We are advocates of the abolition of war; and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to pick up the gun."

Gandhian non-violence as a weapon of struggle against injustice assumed a new relevance in the political and social conditions of Negroes.

"With the assassination of Martin Luther King a great restraining influence has been removed. Che Guevara once wrote that "a nucleus of thirty to fifty men should be sufficient to initiate the armed struggle in any country of the Americans." (But Guevara's attempt at insurgency in Bolivia in 1966-67 ended in disaster).

To those who shrink at the thought of insurrection, the Panther says that six black men die for each white in the Vietnamese War and throngs of blacks die from the nature of Ghetto life. They say, "We are fighting abroad to give people the American way of life—when so many here don't want it.....It's absurd for us to fight the whiteman's war against people of other colours. We tell students that they have no real squabble with Ho." (*The Progressive*, July, 1969).

Nations in difficulties turn either to the U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. for arms, aid and advice.

The Super-powers on their part, continue the cynical game of coming in force in a struggle for influence and let their satellites play out their little wars.

The Russians leapfrogged into the Arab world in force, after an arms deal in 1955 and the CIA missed a chance to do something about it.

The Arabs claim that Israel is a colonialist implantation in West Asia, supported by Imperialist powers. The Zionists claim that the Jewish immigration was a return to the Jewish homeland of Palestine. But Palestine was not an empty territory and the Arabs of the land were displaced from their home for the establishment of the State of Israel.

Both Arabs and Israelis believe only force can bring justice to them. This has led to three wars between them in twenty years. Each war has been won by the Jews. And, with each victory the size of Israel has grown. Arab-Israeli armed fighting exposes clearly a trend to escalation.

President Nasser declared on February 2, 1970, that it was indeed an irony that the Arabs, who, in the course of their long history, had never persecuted the Jews, should now be the victim of a fanatical nation of Jews (Zionists).

The President outlined the important aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict as follows :

It was in the 19th century that a fanatical band of Jews gave birth to the idea of militant Jewish nationalism—Zionism and chose Palestine as their homeland.

*These Zionists sought support for their scheme in countries that were empires: Turkey, Germany and Britain. In Britain they found their ideal supporter, for Britain had its own imperialist designs on the Middle East, and it suited Britain to keep the Arab world disunited and in disarray.

*In World War II Britain promised the Arabs their freedom if they fought on her side, and they also promised the Jews Palestine secretly in the infamous Balfour Declaration. After the war Britain decided not to give the Arabs their freedom but to honour their secret pledge to the Zionists.

*After World War II the United States emerged as the most powerful Western nation and the Zionists therefore turned to Washington for support. They evoked sympathy by pointing to the Nazi atrocities against the Jews.

The US then became Israel's No. 1 benefactor and supporter.

*The Arabs did not start any of the three wars with Israel.

In 1948, the Jews attacked areas assigned to the Arabs prior to the withdrawal of British troops from Palestine. All that the Arabs did was to fight in order to prevent this expansion.

In 1956 it was Israel who attacked on the flimsiest of pretexts in collusion with Britain and France, without whom success would not have been possible.

In 1967 Israel attacked the Arabs because they refused to accept the Israeli threat to Syria.

*It is only the US support for Israel that makes Israel able to continue in its occupation of Arab territory.

*In connection with direct negotiations, the Israelis have declared that Jerusalem was not negotiable, the Golan Heights were not negotiable, the West Bank of Jordan was not negotiable,...etc. How was it possible then to negotiate?

*To negotiate with an enemy who occupied one's territory amounted to nothing less than unconditional surrender.

President Nasser made it clear that the Arabs are prepared to fight for their lands with their backs to the wall and reiterated that "what has been taken by force can only be regained by force."

To spare the Arabs further loss of life, property and force and also to save their own face, the Soviet Union had to warn the Western powers of its intention to intervene militarily on the side of the Arabs.

But the nature of the commitment to either the security or prosperity of other nations involves operating a complex system and it has already proved a dangerous task for the Americans and is going to be the same for the Russians.

United Arab Republic's relationship with its Russian benefactors has also not been an easy one.

"This is a marriage of convenience," one Western Ambassador in the Arab world contended. Since the six-day war with Israel in June, 1967, Russia has replaced all the military hardware Egypt, Syria and Iraq lost in the war. "They have supplied the Arab States with more than three billion dollars in aid, but in the long run they may not find that it is all worth it, and end up in a divorce," the Ambassador added.

The German question poses a continuing threat to stability in Central Europe. American troops are hung up in Asia over a similarly divided country—Vietnam.

Exactly 40 years ago a football match took place at a stadium in the British colony of Hong Kong. The names of the football teams and their scores are now forgotten. Yet the events which occurred that day, at one of the stands of the stadium, have gone down as a major landmark in the history of the revolutionary struggle of the people of Vietnam. On February 3, 1930, representatives of the first Communist organisations gathered at the stadium under the guise of football fans. The conference was called on the initiative of Ho Chi Minh.

The conference adopted the historic decision to establish the Communist Party of Vietnam and approved the theses submitted by Ho Chi Minh. In October of the same year, a plenary meeting of the Central Committee adopted a political programme and the CPV was renamed the Communist Party of Indo-China (CPIC).

After 15 years of struggle the efforts of the Vietnamese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Indo-

China were crowned in 1945 with the victory of the August revolution and the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first workers' and peasants' State in the history of South-East Asia.

French imperialists attempting to gain their lost area of domination launched an armed aggression. Under the guidance of the Communist Party, the Vietnamese people took up arms in the sacred war of resistance to defend the gains the revolution had brought them.

In February 1951 the Party convened its Second Congress and delegates from the whole of Vietnam were present. The documents which the Congress approved unanimously defined the urgent tasks of the struggle and the programme for the subsequent transition to a socialist revolution. The Congress adopted a decision to rename the Communist Party of Indo-China as the Working People's Party of Vietnam.

After nine years' struggle, the Vietnamese people were victorious. The Geneva Agreements of July 20, 1954, recognised Vietnam's right to independence, unity and also her territorial integrity.

December 20, 1960, was the day of the foundation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLFSV), the fighting vanguard of the South-Vietnamese people which united dozens of patriotic organisations of various viewpoints. The Congress of people's representatives, which met in June, 1969, in a liberated area, proclaimed the birth of the Republic of South Vietnam and formed a Provisional Revolutionary Government of the RSV.

A Soviet writer says: "Today Americans are seeking the answer as to how the war of independence, which the people of Vietnam are fighting, will end. We can tell them that it will end just as the American War of Independence did."

The decision of Johnson not to contest the Presidential election, the defeat of Humphrey in the Presidential contest, the launching of negotiations in Paris, the initial reduction in

the number of U.S. troops in South Vietnam, the cancelling of a decision to recruit 50,000 young men in November-December 1969, the reduction in the military budget for Vietnam—all of them represent a major change from escalation of the Vietnam war to its de-escalation. President Richard Nixon has promised a complete withdrawal of all U.S. ground forces on an orderly time-table.

On the first leg of his swing through Asia, Nixon said in Guam in June, 1969, that after the Vietnam war, the U.S.A. would avoid direct military involvements in Asia. In lieu of containing Communism, Washington is now urging nationalism to repel Communist revolution.

The President also announced on September 16, 1969, that “the time has come to end this war”. But he realises that “it is difficult to communicate across the gulf of five years of war.” He announced that the U.S.A. would withdraw 35,000 troops from South Vietnam before December 15, 1969. With this fresh move the U.S.A. will have withdrawn a total of 60,000 troops, bringing the U.S. troop strength in South Vietnam to 484,000 men (there were 549,000 men when President Nixon took office).

The withdrawal had actually been originally planned for mid-August but, was put off mainly because of military and public relations advice to Mr. Nixon that since he was “glowing” in the moon shot he could put off announcing withdrawal to a later date when the university campuses reopened so that the “kids” could be kept quiet. (At only ten months’ cost of the war in Vietnam —\$ 24 billion— the USA landed on the Moon.)

But in the greatest demonstration for peace in the history of the USA, millions of Americans, from Congressmen to students, observed Vietnam Moratorium Day on October 15, 1969, and expressed their displeasure with the nation’s participation in the Vietnam War.

From coast to coast, from north to south, protests were

made through campus rallies, speeches, prayer meetings, parades and vigils—to demonstrate that President Nixon had plenty of time to end the war. Even some soldiers in Saigon protested against the Vietnam War, wearing black arm bands while on combat patrol and sympathised with the Moratorium Day demonstrations. Again, on November 15, more than a quarter of a million men and women, carried out a 40-hour “March Against Death” demonstration.

On October 16, 1969, Defence Secretary Melvin Laird declared that when the war was ended, the United States would leave behind in South Vietnam a U.S. military force. *The Washington Post*, on October 19, 1969 wrote: “What seemed astonishing is that Mr. Laird would choose to make his remarks only a day after the nation-wide Moratorium—thumbing his nose at the protesters, indicating that American troops were bound to stay in Vietnam for a long time to come, and implying that they would remain as part of any general Vietnam settlement.” Reports from different sources disclosed that 200,000 U.S. troops would be stationed in South Vietnam for a long time.

Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, Chief of the delegation of the provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, pointed out at the 39th plenary session of the Paris conference on Vietnam on October 23, 1969:

“The ‘Vietnamization’ of the war is in fact nothing but the prolongation of the war of aggression, the use of the puppet army and administration to fight the South Vietnam people under U.S. command and support, so as to realise U.S. neo-colonialism, enslave the South Vietnam people and perpetuate the division of Vietnam.

“The U.S. nurtures the hope of building a strong puppet army to fight in the place of the American GIs and kill the South Vietnam people. This sinister American policy has aroused stronger and stronger indignation among the Saigon army and awakened the national feelings of the puppet rank

and file. Anti-war feelings and desertion are developing steadily."

She quotes from the *Newsweek* magazine that "the desertion rate still runs in appalling proportion—one man in five each year."

The dedicated courage that America faces in Vietnam is not easy to dispose of. Katsuichi Honda is a Japanese war correspondent, who covered the Vietnam war. In his eye-witness account of the war published in *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. XV No. 2, April-June, 1969, (reprinted in *Imprint* Bombay, January 1970) he writes :

An NLF boy soldier (still in his teens, a volunteer from North Vietnam) was killed in an American operation of the hamlet of Hung-Nhon. His body, lying face down, on the road that traversed a South Vietnam village, had the back part of the skull torn off. The young soldier had with him a letter for home in North Vietnam. The unfinished letter read as follows :

To my father and mother,

How quickly the time has flown since I left you all, my dearest parents and brothers and sisters. Already three seasons have passed, I am now in the jungle in one of the fighting areas of the central region. It is now early afternoon, and I am writing this in an atmosphere which is both very homelike and at the same time full of the high moral of revolutionary spirit.

Although I am far away from you, my honoured parents, and from all dear ones in the family, my heart is with you always; you must know how much I miss you and how much I think of you, but the thought of you making yourselves unwell through worrying too much about me is the hardest thing for me to bear. I realise only too well that you and my relations must feel anxious about me, your blood relative.

But there are thousands and tens of thousands of people besides myself, who have left their parents, brothers, wives and children. They are risking their lives for the future of our beautiful fatherland, turning their love for kinsmen into love for our homeland.

I regret more than anything else that I have done so little to repay you, my parents, for the care and affection with which you have brought me up. Now I am old enough to understand things and to be able to feel gratitude for your affection with all my soul and body. I am thousands of kilometres away from you. All I can do now is to donate myself to my duty, to fight as best I can to distinguish myself in battle, and to bring about the united fatherland of Vietnamese as soon as possible. This is the only way for me to serve you, since I cannot be near you and attend you with filial devotion.

My dearest brothers and sisters, you too, will be thinking of me, as I do of you. But being so far away from you, I cannot look after my parents, nor can I be of any help to you, but ... (the rest of the page was blank).

The same war-front correspondent interviewed in a field hospital Gray T. Cristine (18), a volunteer from Detroit, an wounded American soldier, who had survived a face-to-face encounter with NLF soldiers.

Cristine said: "I joined the army ten months ago, and have now been in Vietnam for five months. Before that I was working as a painter. Sooner or later one has got to go through military duty. I thought I'd get it over sooner. And that's why I volunteered. My parents backed me."

The Progressive, January 1970, published letters sent by an American GI to his parents under the title, *The Terrible Realities*. I quote below the first letter :

June 9, 1969

My orders were delayed. I'm leaving today. 218 of

us are loading onto the buses that take us to the airport where a plane awaits us, then on to Vietnam.

One soldier stops at the bus door and refuses to get in. Six sergeants grab him and he goes limp. They hold him off the ground and handcuff him. The rest of us are watching through the window ; some with silent cheers, others not so silent.

"He wants to go home to his momma," someone shouts. "Break his head in," another yells. "Send the bastard to jail if that's what he wants."

"Why?" I protested, silently. "Because he's got more guts than the rest of us. You hypocrites. You only hate him because he's doing something you wish you had the guts to do."

They throw him onto the bus. It's too dark to see his face or his eyes. More comments on the way to the airport. "I hope he tries to escape so they can shoot him." "Hey, I never thought of that." "Hey, maybe he'll commit suicide." "Huh."

The boy was thrown onto the plane amidst jeers and catcalls.

From the above accounts we must acknowledge that the amazing spirit of self-sacrifice and heroic courage of Vietnamese soldiers fighting for their country and freedom cannot be rivalled by American GIs.

The war has always a dissolvent effect on the morality of a country.

The Japanese correspondent also writes: "Wherever American soldiers go, children are degraded to beggars. At a base in Vietnam I saw soldiers throwing canned food and candies to a crowd of children. Impoverished children no



The Author And A Vietnamese Lady

doubt would beg the soldiers for something. The soldiers seemed to find it funny to throw the food as far as possible, and to watch the children scramble like dogs to get it."

America has already sacrificed 40,000 of her sons in the Vietnam War. Many others who are still deployed there to contain Communists, astonishingly enough, find Vietnamese women more worth fighting for than the war itself

The following despatch from Saigon by the Afro-Asian News Service sheds a good deal of light on this aspect of American soldiers' life there :

"The only thing worth fighting for in this damned country is its women," thus said one American soldier when the stepped-up anti-war campaign in the United States cast doubts on what the American soldiers were doing in Vietnam, in a war which was becoming more and more 'dirty'.

The view expressed is no doubt an extreme view and a minority view, held by those who suffered transient moments of doubt and anger. But apart from the military and political

aspects, the words uttered are a tribute to Vietnamese women, whom so many foreigners (not just Americans) have found bewitching.

Slim, graceful, outwardly submissive, sensual, Vietnamese women have caused serious ravages in the American community here. They have broken American hearts, American homes, American careers, often with cynic casualness. Some such cases have become famous.

Four years ago, a high United States official, an adviser to the Vietnamese police, J. Rayan, was shot and killed by one of his subordinates, R. Kimball, in a dispute involving a Vietnamese woman, Nguyen Thi Hai, who was employed by the same agency. Kimball was tried by a Vietnamese court, and sentenced to five years' jail.

Nguyen Thi Hai, who was married, but separated from her husband, a Vietnamese army officer, was at first Kimball's girl, but dropped him to 'move up'. Rayan was a more interesting lover because he was higher in the hierarchy and had more money.

It was an embarrassing case for Vietnamese and Americans alike, because both Nguyen Thi Hai and J. Rayan were married. Rayan had a wife and a child waiting for him in France and Nguyen Thi Hai was the mother of three children.

That was a story which attracted no sympathy from anyone, least of all from the shocked Vietnamese. But another love story has attracted deep sympathy. It concerned an American marine in the Danang area, who had fallen in love with a Vietnamese girl, and intended to marry her and take her home to the United States when he was discharged.

Because of red tape, he could not carry out his plan, and had to re-enlist three times to stay close to her. During his third term, he was killed in action, leaving his unwed wife, a child, and an yet unborn baby.

There was another famous love story. This time the victim was an American deeply in love with a beautiful Vietnamese girl. The American was married, but he was so bewitched that he went back to the United States to divorce his wife. He had left a huge sum of money to the Vietnamese girl. When he came back, free to marry her, the girl had a new boy friend.

Should the girl be blamed? If you ask her, she would be surprised at your question, because, from the experiences of thousands of other Vietnamese girls, it would have been foolish of her to wait; the affair, or 'marriage' as the Vietnamese would call it, was expected to last only the time that the American was serving in Vietnam.

The Vietnamese girl will assume that her soldier lover must have a wife and children waiting for him back in the United States. His 'marriage' to her is only a local arrangement. She expects no lasting love from him. Once he has boarded the home-bound plane, he will become a stranger to her.

The Vietnamese girls had a good reason to be cynical; many Americans proposed 'marriage' to them, promised to come back and marry them and then were no more heard of.

So the girls believe they have the right to look upon their association with Americans as merely a business arrangement.

In Vietnam, it is respectable to have a husband, even though he is a foreigner, and everyone knows that the couple have no marriage licence, or even that the 'marriage' will lead to nothing more than sharing a room and a bed for a time.

But during that time, the Vietnamese woman will behave like a real wife. This is perhaps one of the things which have made Vietnamese women still more attractive to Americans.

There is no fear of complications, no fear of blackmail, no fear of alimony, no fear of tears. And with all that, the

arrangement is very cheap. For fifty dollars a month, a GI can have a 'wife'; for two hundred dollars a month he can have a very respectable 'wife' from among the prettiest girls.

Thus, in the back streets of Saigon, scores of GIs have set up 'homes'. One can see the unmistakable products, the little fair-complexioned, blond kids—carried by their mothers, nurses, or grandmothers, or playing in those back streets: you can see GIs drive in, their jeeps loaded with all kinds of goods—including refrigerators—purchased at the American services stores.

Occasionally, you see MPs looking for deserters who have found homes as well as business. Their 'wives' sell the goods, purchased tax-free, in the blackmarket and make enough profit to keep the home going. In most of the cases, when their American 'husbands' cannot provide for the family, they somehow manage to keep things going without betraying them.

The U.S.A. must have reasons also to be concerned about what the Vietnamese themselves think about them. I quote below comments from some Saigon newspapers. In its special issue, *Song* (Life), a weekly published in Saigon, carried a series of articles with anti-American overtones.

In one of the stories the paper said, "The Americans have made many mistakes in Vietnam. They display their force too barefacedly by their deeds and manners. They do not bother about camouflaging their strength. From the top military and political command downwards, everywhere, they constantly give the Vietnamese the impression that the Yankees are the bosses, a sort of conquistadors or dominators.

"Confronted with a great foreign power, Vietnam, now, as in the past, has only this recourse; to oppose it either overtly or passively by means of non-cooperation.

"The popular masses and the majority of the Vietnamese people are sick of the American way of life. The free-spending

Americans have upset the virtuous, ethical and social life of the Vietnamese people. As their daughters are compelled to serve as barmaids for the GIs, many families harbour a deep rancour against the Americans. The sight of GIs embracing taxi girls in Saigon flesh-spots or in front of bar rooms strikes shame and pain in the hearts of Vietnamese who find it hard to feel any kindness for them....."

In another article, the magazine wrote: "The Americans claim they are helping the republic of Vietnam defend the freedom of the world, but why is American aid plagued with business tricks ?

"Economically, the Americans say they help Vietnam develop her export trade. What has Vietnam's exports achieved in the way of development ? As things stand, imports of U.S. goods and rice are being encouraged to help increase U.S. exports and make the U.S. richer.

"The presence of Americans here with too many dollars, hot music, Black and White whisky, Playboy and Men magazines, etc.....has utterly perverted Vietnamese society.

"The number of prostitutes skyrockets and V.D. is rampant.

"Obscene spectacles are seen everywhere Americans are. Even in the street, an American may slip his hand inside the skirt of a young Vietnamese girl sitting by his side and then laugh uproariously. Right at the P.X. he may strip off his trousers to tease some Vietnamese sales girls.

"The American presence is associated with drunkenness, ruffianism and bloody murder—all that makes news in the daily press. In short, the Americans have been making a bad use of their dollars. They have used their filthy money to seduce others' wives and daughters, and induce Vietnamese girls into selling themselves....."

Song weekly also ran an article denouncing completely the

U.S. disregard for the lives of the city people; in driving carelessly and breaking all traffic regulations. The Americans have caused innumerable fatal accidents in the streets.

The paper maintained that "the U.S. war of aggression and the deeds of the U.S. expeditionary troops have changed the outlook of city folks in South Vietnam. Even those who formerly 'treasured the cultural legacy full of freshness and sweetness of the U.S.' now abhor the Americans."

The weekly emphasised that each American newcomer pushed one more Vietnamese into opposition to the U.S. and the best course of action for the U.S. was to take its troops home.

The United States has watched its image being changed from protector of the weak to aggressor in its involvement in South-East Asia. The allegations that American troops had massacred hundreds of villagers in the area of South Vietnam—code-named Pinkville (because its cluster of nine hamlets was populous enough to be painted pink in war maps)—revealed the horrifying nature of the Vietnam War and how America's involvement in it is changing the nature of Americans themselves.

Nine survivors of the "Pinkville massacre" said that they had survived to tell the tale because they had been buried under a pile of corpses. Men, women and children were massacred at My Lai village in South Vietnam in March 1968, by American soldiers in cold blood and homes were burnt, number of the dead range from 109 to 567.

A letter allegedly signed by four villagers including a 60-year-old man, Pham Tao, said helicopter-borne U.S. troops swooped on the village at dawn on March 16, 1968, after it had been pounded by artillery.

The Americans attacked one house after another, using guns, tear-gas and dynamite, the letter alleged.

Mr. Tao and the three other villagers said in the letter they saw a 72-year-old man beaten black and blue by the soldiers.

"His lower jaw with his beard was cut off," they said, "and then was thrown into a well and killed by grenades and sub-machinegun fire."

They added that a 12-year-old girl was raped and bayoneted to death.

Another letter allegedly written by five villagers said a woman who had given birth to a child only ten hours before the attack on the village was raped and killed.

My Lai is not perhaps an isolated incident. The war has accumulated odious crimes and there was also a report that a company of the Ninth Infantry division fired into village huts for target practice in June 1969.

U.S. Defence Secretary Melvin Laird was himself shocked and sickened by the report of American conduct and allegations of mass massacres in Vietnam.

But the British Press, however, indict the critics of the USA and say "the Americans have been more sinned against than sinning."

Warning that the US withdrawal from Vietnam would not halt killing, the *Guardian* recalls Hue massacres by the Vietcong, in which "hundreds of civilians were killed in cold blood, some because they were black-listed; others because they had not joined the 'general uprising'.

"What was done there may be done again as the Vietcong take over and for the same political purpose. It is one reason why the civil war may continue even when the Americans go. It is President Nixon's nightmare. He must withdraw, but must try first to force a political settlement that will restrict killing."

The *Guardian* warns that constant criticism of the United States could provoke a backlash, which might drive the Americans back into isolationism and that "could be another tragedy. Without American commitments to the defence of Western Europe, Paris and Brussels today could be as much under Moscow's heel as Prague and Budapest. Hardly any one believed that the Russians would use their tanks against friendly Communist Governments, but they have done it twice."

The *Daily Telegraph* also urges the continuation of firm support by Britain for the United States over Vietnam. The newspaper recalls an earlier report that a captured Communist plan for post-victory administration in Vietnam "includes a death list of 3,000,000" and says consequences elsewhere in South-East Asia as communisation took place would be of the same order.

The *Telegraph*, stressing that the Communist campaign is based on "terror, massacre and military use of women and children," urges the world to be "eternally grateful" that America took on this thankless battle against Communism after the French had packed up.

But the philosopher and the leading member of the Russel War Crimes Tribunal, Jean-Paul Sartre, refused to compare the My Lai affair with the "so-called massacres" committed by the Viet Cong at Hue and elsewhere during the 1968 Tet offensive. He refused to consider "popular violence" on the same level as the military violence of a "big country which has no business, absolutely none, to be in Vietnam."

U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers said that Vietnam had taught the United States one lesson: "We are not going to fight any major wars in the mainland of Asia again. We are not going to send American troops there."

President Nixon, who as Vice-President fifteen years ago, was a fanatical partisan on the side of the French in Vietnam's war of liberation spoke on November 3,

1969, with the same passion that made his boss, President Eisenhower, remark in the second volume of his memoirs, *Mandate for change*, that "there was no plausible reason for the United States to intervene." He then added: "We could not even be sure that the Vietnamese population wanted us to do so". The Nixon-Dulles view then was that freedom was at stake in Indo-China. "It was almost impossible," Eisenhower wrote, "to make the average Vietnamese peasant realise that the French under whose rule this people had lived for some 60 years, were really fighting for the cause of freedom, while the Vietminh (as the Communist-led guerrillas were then known), people of their own ethnic origin, were fighting on the side of slavery." Then Eisenhower made that famous remark: "It was generally conceded that had an election been held, Ho Chi-Minh would have been elected President."

Mr Nixon has not changed his old opinions about an alleged Communist threat to the security of the entire world especially in South-East Asia. With South Vietnam passing under Vietcong control, Mr. Nixon said, "not only will other countries in South-East Asia fall like domino pieces, they would fall in the Middle East, eventually even in the Western Hemisphere."

Mr. Nixon expressed his solidarity with the Saigon regime or something similar by conjuring up the picture of mass bloodbath, should the United States withdraw without effectively Vietnamizing the war that would keep the Saigon regime in power.

It may not be in the interest of the upper echelons of the South Vietnamese Army and civil service to see the fighting cease. Over in Paris, the negotiations also have reached a deadlock. The Chinese favour a protracted revolutionary struggle, while the Russians look to Paris peace talks for practical results.

There is a report that some Americans want to use Gen. Duong Van Minh again to get rid of Thieu and set the Paris negotiations moving.

If there is a change of government in Saigon, peace prospects may be brighter because negotiations could then start seriously without anyone losing face. The loser would, of course, be Thieu, and his fellow General Ky.

It may be recalled that American agents inspired Gen. Minh to head the coup which brought down the Diem Government leading to Diem's murder in November, 1963. After the coup Gen. Minh became Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, a position of *de facto* chief of State.

But three months later, Minh himself became the victim of a coup by his junior colleagues—among whom were General Thieu, and General Khamh, the President and Prime Minister respectively of South Vietnam.

After staying in exile in Bangkok for four years, Gen. Minh returned home in 1968.

The Americans have not been able to win the war in Vietnam. The image of the omnipotence of America, in which even the American themselves believed has been tarnished beyond recognition.

Mr. Chester Bowles, former U.S. Ambassador to India, said :

“In respect of our mad adventure in South-East Asia, it was our overgrown military establishment that made it possible for us to become involved far beyond our original intentions. If the debacle helps us to understand the limits of military power it will at least have served some purpose.”

Not only in Vietnam, Americans can no longer feel comfortably at home with their ally, Thailand. The Americans, Thais also allege, act like conquerors, insulting local inhabitants, assaulting women and severely beating up all those who try to stand on their way. Towns and villages located near American troop concentrations have turned into hotbeds of prostitution which is prohibited in Thailand by law. Bangkok

is, at present, bestowing care to lower the great military dependence placed on America, implying as well the desire to improve Thailand's relations with China. Relatively less is thought by Thailand of an ideological threat from China, possibly also influenced by the way contact between China and Pakistan is maintained, though in the two cases there are differences of not negligible weight.

The role of being the world's policeman is certainly unpopular. How long is the U.S.A. prepared to stand the strain of it ?

In South-East Asia the course of events in no country runs independent of what happens elsewhere. The physical security of Thailand and the outcome of the Vietnam war depend to a large extent on the way things go in Laos and Cambodia

Giving a resume of the events in Laos, President Nixon said in a statement on March 7, 1970: "Laos has been a battle-ground for most of the past twenty years. In 1949 it became a semi-independent state within the French Union. The Pathet Lao Communists rebelled against the government in the early 1950's and fighting continued until the 1954 Geneva settlements ended the Indo-China War. Laos at that time became an independent neutral state. The indigenous Communists, the Pathet Lao, nevertheless retained control of the two northern provinces.

"Since then, this small country has been the victim of persistent subversion and finally invasion by the North Vietnamese.

"In July 1962, after fourteen months of negotiations, fourteen nations signed the Geneva Accords providing for the neutralization of Laos. Other signatories besides the United States included the Soviet Union, Communist China, North Vietnam, the United Kingdom, France, the South-East Asian nations most directly involved, and the members of the International Control Commission, Canada, India and Poland.

"These Accords came one month after the three contending forces within Laos announced agreement on the details of a coalition government composed of the three major political factions and headed by the neutralist, Prince Souvanna Phouma. North Vietnam claimed that it favoured a coalition government. Both North Vietnam and the Soviet Union backed Prince Souvanna for his new post. The present government of Laos thus has been the one originally proposed by the Communists.

"Before the ink was dry on the 1962 Geneva documents, and despite the fact that they embodied most of its own proposals, North Vietnam started violating them. In compliance with the Accords, the 666 Americans who had been assisting the Royal Laos Government withdrew under ICC supervision. In contrast, the North Vietnamese passed only a token 40 men through ICC checkpoints and left over 60,000 troops in the country.

"A steadily growing number of North Vietnamese troops have remained there ever since, in flagrant violation of the Geneva Accords. They climbed to about 33,000, in mid-1967, 46,000 in mid-1968, and 55,000 in mid-1969. Today they are at an all-time high of some 67,000 men.

"In addition, since 1964, over a half-million North Vietnamese troops have crossed the "Ho Chi Minh Trail" in Laos to invade South Vietnam.

"The political arrangements for a three-way government survived only until April, 1963 when the Pathet Lao leaders departed from the capital and left their Cabinet posts vacant. Fighting soon resumed and since then, there have been cycles of Communist offensives and Royal Laotian Government counter-offensives. In recent years Hanoi has provided the great majority of Communist troops in Laos.

"North Vietnam appears to have two aims in Laos. The first is to insure its ability to use Laos as a supply route for

North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam. The second is to weaken and subvert the Royal Laos Government—originally established at its urging—to hinder it from interfering with North Vietnamese use of Laotian territory, and to pave the way for the eventual establishment of a government more amenable to Communist control.

“Last spring, the North Vietnamese mounted a campaign which threatened the Royal capital and moved beyond the areas previously occupied by Communists. A counter-attack by the Laos Government forces, intended to relieve this military pressure and cut off supply lines, caught the enemy by surprise and succeeded beyond expectations in pushing them off the strategic central plain in North Laos known as the Plain of Jars.

“We are trying, above all, to save American and allied lives in South Vietnam. By the continual infiltration of North Vietnamese troops and supplies along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, Hanoi has infiltrated over 100,000 men through Laos since this Administration took office and over 500,000 altogether. Our air-strikes have destroyed weapons and supplies over the past four years which would have taken thousands of American lives. Stepping up fighting, North Vietnamese forces have recently recaptured the Plain of Jars.”

Some people believe that Moscow provoked Hanoi into its adventure in Laos with a possible view of provoking a Sino-American conflict in South-East Asia. Any fighting in Laos automatically becomes a battle directly on the Chinese frontier. This may forge united and concerted action by the socialist countries including China—a situation in which the Soviet Union remains in the sidelines supplying materials while the Chinese and American do the fighting. But such a prospect of united action is remote as China raising the cry that Russia is threatening to attack her has resumed talks with Washington to guarantee her safety from invasion and raids by “US imperialists.”

The Cambodian Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, was ousted on March 18, 1970, in a bloodless Rightist takeover that placed power in the hands of a triumvirate—the Assembly President, Mr. Chang Heng, the Prime Minister, General Lon Nol, and the Deputy Premier, Prince Sisowath Sirik Matak.

From the past record of the C.I.A. in South-East Asia, people wonder whether it has not encouraged, even organised, the Cambodian coup.

The Prince, who modernised Cambodia and ruled unchallenged for about 15 years, was in Moscow at the time of the coup.

The 48-year-old Prince, who had voluntarily refused to head the country's royalty line in 1953 (kingship was elective in Cambodia), had been a benevolent popular dictator since 1960 when his father, King Norodom Suramarit, died.

Norodom had originally succeeded his grandfather, King Sisowath Monivong in 1941, and had very cleverly fought and negotiated for the independence of Cambodia. The Prince's father became the king after his son had abdicated in 1953 in the wake of Cambodia's national independence. In spite of his Left-leaning neutrality in foreign relations, the mercurial Cambodian Prince is no Communist; indeed, much of his anxiety not to offend the Chinese and the Russians, provided a better assurance of Cambodian independence.

In spite of his friendly relations with Communist powers, he could not, however, stop increasing violation of Cambodian territory by the Vietnamese Communists.

By the Rightist coup Cambodia runs the risk, as Prince Norodom put it, "of becoming a second Laos and a second South Vietnam."

Now the Prince has been forced into the lap of China by the coup. Prince Sihanouk said in Peking that he would raise

a National Liberation Army to restore his rule in Cambodia and has sought Hanoi's assistance to do so.

The fact of the situation is that the existence of Laos and Cambodia as independent nations is in peril as Hanoi has planned to re-constitute Indo-China under its hegemony. Historically, Cambodia has been fearful of Vietnamese domination and Cambodia's two traditional enemies have been Thailand and Vietnam.

Before the French came on the scene and established their control over the entire peninsula (comprising Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia), Cambodia always remained in danger of overlordship by either Thailand or Vietnam. It was often paying tribute to either one or the other and sometimes to both at the same time. The fear of dominance by their traditional foes remains a strong element in the thinking of the Cambodians.

Will it be possible for President Nixon to prevent an escalation of American involvement in South-East Asia and rest content with Vietnamization on which he had set his hopes?

If the Asian intelligentsia come forward to regard the anti-Communist struggle in Asia as its own patriotic duty, it will be a major success of President Nixon's policy. Many educated young men in Asia have taken a hard look at the actual results of Marxist policies in the post-colonial world—and found them wanting in a way quite different to their elders who, in struggles for national independence, tended to equate Left-wingism with liberation.

Some political analysts believe that a new situation has developed in Asia and the type of frontal Communist attack envisaged when SEATO was formed 15 years ago, is an unlikely eventuality now. Internal problems, involvement of the Chinese Army in maintaining order within the country as well as the fact that the two giants—China and Soviet Union—are at loggerheads, have led to a new thinking that China is much less a direct military threat to its neighbours than it was before.

The immediate threat from China is a subversive one. Subversive acts are acts against an established power using violence or ideas which are not shared by it. American officials stress that the nations of Asia should be able to handle subversion with American aid and advice. They affirm that the U.S.A. stands ready to honour its commitment against aggression, but in the changed circumstances, they believe, the U.S. military role can be greatly reduced, and they appear ready to advocate early cut-backs in army bases while maintaining a few naval bases in Asia.

The truth is that the balance of power has been rapidly shifting in Asia. France, Holland and Britain have seen their Asian empires disappear. Communist China does nothing to soften its aggressive nature, which leaves the independent nations of Asia unable to rely on themselves for defence, looking out for new alliances or protectors. And following the U.S. policy of trimming the size of its defence umbrella, the poorer nations of Asia are feeling the potential pinch of increased defence spending.

Ever since the Soviet Union mediated between India and Pakistan at Tashkent in January 1966, it has been working to improve relations with Rawalpindi. The aim is to drive both American and Chinese influence out.

Mr. Kosygin said in Calcutta on September 11, 1969, on his way back from Hanoi where he had attended Ho's funeral that Russian tanks for Pakistan posed no danger to India.

The U.S.A. had repeatedly given its solemn pledge to India that the arms it was giving to Pakistan were not intended for use against India. All the same, they were definitely utilised by Pakistan in the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965. The reasons seem to be that both Washington and Moscow are anxious to see Pakistan out of the Chinese orbit of influence. The real danger, however, lies in the possibility that both the United States and the Soviet Union might boost Pakistani morale so high that eventually another border flare-up might result in Kashmir.

India cannot afford to have two unfriendly neighbours. The Indian initiative to normalise relationship with Peking is provoking Russia to turn round to Pakistan to secure a foothold on her soil in the event of a Sino-Indian reconciliation. The Russians no doubt value India's friendship so as to counter-balance China's power in Asia. Soviet influence over India poses a danger to China's interest. President Giri's meeting with the Chinese leader, Mr. Ku Mo-Jo, at Kathmandu on the occasion of the wedding of Nepal's Crown Prince has caused much speculation about India-China relations. In the eventuality of a Sino-Indian rapprochement Russia will naturally try to counteract it, and, therefore, is seeking Pak friendship. Pakistan, because of her sworn hostility towards India, is only too glad to welcome Russian friendship, should there be a Sino-Indian *detente*. It is not Pakistan alone that seeks arms and allies abroad. India, too, is hoping to profit by agreeing to collective security and permitting use of the Indian Ocean by Russians.

The strategic importance of the Indian Ocean has long been known to the Kremlin. There was always the British Navy from Suez to Singapore. But now the British are retreating beyond Suez—and the Russians are creeping in.

It has long been the Pentagon's headache to contain Communist China. But now the Soviet Union has got the headache in its turn and is planning for an Asian Security bloc. Naturally India and Pakistan are looked upon as pieces to rope in for the bloc. Unless Communist China changes its policy of subversion against India, her government will have to think in terms of a security system. Jawaharlal Nehru stubbornly resisted Dulles' insistent approaches to get India into the SEATO. Will Indira Gandhi, in view of China's belligerency towards India, be able to avoid getting into the Russian diplomatic trap?

The Kremlin does not any more accept the theory of political neutrality. The Soviet Union's definition of non-alignment means being an ally of the "socialist world" against "imperialists".

Russians are prepared to guide the Asians. Now the Asians are weary of American over-presence in South-East Asia, in Taiwan, South Korea, South Vietnam and Thailand, which have had heavy involvement of American money, adviser, equipment and armed forces in the shaping of their destinies.

It is time Asian leaders realised that their safety lies not in seeking friends elsewhere but in cementing friendship with each other. Thoughts should be turned to devising an Asian alternative for a worrying Asian situation.

But the question is, can the Asians themselves do their own organising without prompting and inspiration from the super-powers?

5

PEACEFUL
COEXISTENCE

Our Chinese comrades clearly make light of all the dangers involved in a thermonuclear war. While what is most important is to exterminate imperialism at the earliest possible date, to them the problem of how to achieve this end and at what sacrifice is of secondary significance. We must then ask them: For whom is it of secondary significance? For those nations which would be wiped out from the face of the earth in the first several hours of such a war?Atomic bombs do not make any distinction between the places where workers live. They strike at whole areas indiscriminately. Therefore, millions of workers would have to die simply because of a single monopolistic capitalist. Working classes and labourers would ask such revolutionaries: What right do you have to settle the problems of our existence and class struggle on our behalf? We want socialism. However, we want to win it not through nuclear warfare, but through the class struggle.

—Soviet argument against China's stance.

At one time people waged war against the nobility and the clergy to achieve liberty, equality and fraternity. These were the watchwords of the French Révolution.

Scientific inquiry and mechanical inventions in Europe during the 18th and the 19th centuries ushered in what is commonly known as the Industrial Revolution. The domestic system of industrial production was replaced by the factory system. Life from the rural surroundings changed to urban atmosphere with its smoking chimneys and crowded habitations. Self-employed artisans and craftsmen of the feudal age became wage-earners in factories. The process gradually led to increasing dispossession and pauperisation of men hanging around factories and workshops for their daily bread. Their livelihood depended on industries owned and possessed by a new class known as the capitalist. This set the stage for the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Marxism has reduced the history of all "hitherto existing society as the history of class struggles." And according to the Manifesto of the Communist Party, the "epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonism. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat....." The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces above all, is its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." (*Manifesto of the Communist Party* By K. Marx and F. Engels, Moscow edition).

Marxism provides a body of theory, a strategy, and a manual of tactics for the working class to overthrow the existing bourgeois economic and political structure of the world.

Mr. K. M. Pannikar said: "It was the riches of Asian and

American trade flowing to Europe that enabled the great Industrial Revolution to take place in England." Vast capital resources garnered from the colonies helped greatly in setting up industrial establishments which, in turn secured extra-territorial rights in the Asian and African continents for the purpose of trade and commerce. It was soon followed by stationing of naval and land forces at various trading ports for the protection and safety of persons and property.

The scientific developments provided the western countries with better arms and ammunition. The superiority of arms ultimately helped them to conquer Asian and African countries and produce the historical era of imperialism.

After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, Lenin headed the first socialist government in the world. Lenin pointed out that the Revolution had divided the world into two opposite systems, the socialist and the capitalist and the struggle between the two had become the principal process in world history.

A year after the revolution, Lenin wrote that the Bolsheviks' tactics.....were the internationalist tactics "for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries." (*Collected works* Vol. 18, Moscow, p. 292).

The 1917 Russian Revolution provided a powerful impetus to the development of national liberation movements and intensified the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism. The merging of the national liberation movements with Soviet Socialism and the international working class movement into a single revolutionary stream became the major feature of the world.

But the victory of socialism in one country and its danger when imperialist powers dominated the world, made Lenin later put forward the theory of peaceful coexistence of the two social systems of the world.

In an interview to a representative of the *New York Evening Journal* in February 1920, Lenin said: "Let American

capitalists not touch us; we will not touch them," Lenin however, clarified that coexistence would endure only until the Communist world is strong enough to take the non-Communist world by the scruff of the neck. Lenin believed that wars could be avoided "only after we overthrow, finally conquer and dispose of the bourgeoisie throughout the world, and not only in one country". (*Collected works* Vol. 19, Moscow, p. 325).

Stalin conceived peaceful coexistence as a dialectical phenomenon which contains elements of both co-operation and struggle with the bourgeoisie.

The Soviet Union co-operated with the United States and Britain and forged an anti-Hitler alliance to defeat the most reactionary aggressive fascist powers and save the 'haven' of socialism.

But after the Second World War the "unholy" alliance yielded to Cold War and the class struggle between the socialist and the capitalist systems intensified. U.S. President Kennedy described it thus: "Two great forces—the world of Communism and the world of free choice—have, in effect, made a 'bet' about the direction in which history is moving."

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower entered the White House on January 20, 1953, and Josef Stalin died on March 6, the same year.

The world had, meanwhile, moved from the atomic age to the thermonuclear era.

The first American hydrogen bomb was exploded on November 1, 1952. The first Soviet H-bomb test came nine months later.

Lenin wrote in 1918: "A war in which practical science might be used for an overall destruction is to be considered not only a great crime but also a means to uproot human society as a whole".

On March 12, 1954, the Soviet Premier, Georgi Malenkov, declared that a third world war "with the existence of the modern means of destruction would mean the destruction of world civilisation."

On February 8, 1955, Malenkov was ousted following the struggle for power in the Kremlin. Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov repudiated the Malenkov doctrine by saying that "what will perish" in a nuclear war "will not be world civilisation, however much it may suffer from new aggression," but the "rotten social system" of the capitalist nations.

This critical difference in doctrinal views continued in the Soviet Union until Nikita S. Khrushchev took over.

At the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, Khrushchev introduced the concept of peaceful coexistence between States with differing political and social systems; the avertibility of world wars; and non-violent social revolution. Outlining the main distinguishing feature of the new epoch, Khrushchev said: "Only madmen and maniacs will now call for another world war." He declared that large-scale war was not "fatalistically inevitable." There might be "local wars", such as the aggression of Britain, France and Israel against Egypt, "but the possibilities of starting wars of even this kind were diminishing". There would also be "wars of liberation" in countries dominated by the "imperialists"—though here, also, various other new forms were suggesting themselves.

Peaceful coexistence of States has thus become a historical necessity arising from the present nuclear stage in the development of human society.

The possibility of "peaceful" roads to power within a capitalist country was also envisaged by Stalin. In April 1924, he declared in a speech: "In the remote future if the proletariat is victorious in the most important capitalist countries, and if the present capitalist encirclement is replaced by socialist encirclement, a peaceful path of development is quite possible

for certain capitalist countries, whose capitalists, in view of the unfavourable international situation, will consider it expedient voluntarily to make substantial concessions to the proletariat." (*Problem of Leninism*, Moscow ; Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1947, p. 47).

In the post-Stalin era under the leadership of Khrushchev the Soviet policy signified two important shifts; namely, aiming at attaining of favourable international conditions for building up socialism ; and sparing mankind from the threat of a nuclear catastrophe by championing the principle of peaceful coexistence of States, regardless of their social systems.

Khrushchev told the Twentieth Congress that the forces of "socialism and democracy" had grown immeasurably throughout the world whereas capitalism had become much weaker; socialist encirclement of capitalism was beginning to replace the former capitalist encirclement of socialism. The facts that the "socialist world system has become the decisive factor in the development of human society, and that there is enormous development of nuclear weaponry, have encouraged conditions of "peaceful coexistence."

But the People's Republic of China did not endorse the Soviet line.

The Chinese Communists consider theoreticall y fallacious the Soviet tendency to link peaceful coexistence with the problem of how the proletariat should achieve power in a particular country. From the Peking point of view these two are separate, distinct issues.

Communist China asks the Soviet Union what would become of the ideal of world revolution if such an attitude is taken. And what would become of Lenin's precept that violence is needed since the ruling classes would not voluntarily surrender.

One of Mao's basic "thoughts" is that "a State always dies if it is not threatened by external forces" and he demands that

"the revolution should be completed" and the whole of the world "aroused."

Mao Tse-tung said: "As far as the question of a future world war is concerned there are two possible answers: either war will lead to revolution, or revolution will avert the possibility of war" (*Peking Rundschau*, April 28, 1969, p. 25). With their slogan of "permanent revolution" the Chinese Communists are prepared to incite revolutionary wars in various parts of the world, and Mao's heir-apparent, Lin Piao, announced at the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party that China "will fulfil her duty in securing the complete victory of proletarian internationalism."

The CPSU also officially encourages national "liberation" wars, particularly if there is no danger that they will escalate into a global conflict. Russian Communists contend that it is only revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and a revolutionary situation that can really develop into a socialist revolution. Any pushing of revolution from outside amounts to adventurism. Both Moscow and Peking support the Vietnamese Communists, but in other parts of the world their sympathies are widely divergent. The Chinese support the operations of the Palestine guerrillas against Israel and armed action against the governments of Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and India, while the Russians encourage partisan warfare in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and South-West Africa.

The Soviet Union wants to achieve the maximum amount of influence in the world with the minimum risk.

The class struggle has now been spearheaded by the Soviet Union primarily towards the newly emergent free nations with 'aids' to have a new balance of forces in the international arena.

President Kennedy in a television broadcast on the Test Ban Treaty in 1963 said, "A war today or tomorrow, if it leads to a nuclear war, would not be like any war in history. A full-scale nuclear exchange, lasting less than 60 minutes, with the weapons now in existence, could wipe out more than 300 million

Americans, Europeans and Russians as well as an untold number elsewhere. And as Premier Khrushchev warned the Chinese, 'the survivors would envy the dead.' For they would inherit a world so devastated by explosion, poison and fire that today we cannot even conceive of its horror."

At the Moscow conference of Communists and Workers' Parties held in 1957, Mao Tse-tung said that world imperialism could be defeated only through a nuclear war and that the sacrifices, hardships and calamities that would result from such a war were of no consequence. He said: "Who can calculate the loss that a future world war may incur? It might be one-third of the total population of the world; I feel even if half the total of human beings perishes, the other half will certainly survive. And as a result, imperialism would be totally annihilated and only socialism would remain in the world: within half a century once again the world will find a huge population."

Mao Tse-tung added: "The First World War was followed by the birth of the Soviet Union with a population of two hundred millions. The Second World War was followed by the emergence of the socialist camp, with a combined population of 900 millions. If the imperialists should insist on launching a third world war, it is certain that several hundred millions more will turn to socialism; then there will not be much room left in the world for the imperialists, while it is quite likely that the whole structure of imperialism will utterly collapse." (*On the correct handling of contradiction among the people*—Mao Tse-tung, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1957, p. 64). Later, Mao said that imperialists "will be swept like dust from the stage of history by the mighty broom of the revolutionary people." (*Hung Chi*, the ideological journal of the Central Committee of Chinese Communist Party: September 3, 1965).

What is striking here is that Mao Tse-tung is perfectly willing to sacrifice and exterminate hundreds of millions of men beyond his country's border to gain for Chinese Communism wider control in other parts of the world. And there is a sharp contrast between the fierce, bloodthirsty contents of Mao's writings and Soviet Russia's plea for peaceful method.

How could the Communist countries benefit from a world-wide thermonuclear catastrophe? — Khrushchev asked this question at a gathering in East Berlin of delegates from seventy national Communist parties on January 16, 1963. Marxist-Leninists, he said, could not conceive of “the creation of a Communist civilisation on the ruins of the world cultural centres, upon an earth deserted and poisoned by a nuclear fallout.”

There is evidence that the four world nuclear powers—the Soviet Union, America, Britain and China—may well have already destroyed hundreds of children by “open air” A- and H-bomb tests. The mounting death toll from heart disease and lung cancer may have been caused by the steady pollution of atmosphere working its way down through soil into cattle and grain and then into the bodies of men.

At Tokyo University, a research team has already postulated that the incidence of violence among the young Japanese may have had a direct relationship with the fallout from atom bombs let off over Hiroshima and Nagasaki when they were infants. Part of their brain’s sensory perceptions was destroyed or distorted by that exposure.

A strong urge for pacifism after the colossal devastations caused by the nuclear bombing rules the national outlook of present-day Japan. I visited Japan in 1958. We, of the older generation, who remember too well the ruthless atrocities of the former imperial forces of Japan in China, were astonished to see that a nation, relieved from the burden of military expenditures, could prosper to an unprecedented height.

I found that the Japanese simply abhorred war and nuclear weapons. Besides atomic devastation in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan lost about forty per cent of her overseas possession as a result of the Second World War. Most of her plants, factories, cities and towns were destroyed. But her 100 million people worked hard for the reconstruction of the national economy and moved up to second place in the Free World.

It is but natural that the new generation in Japan—the children of prosperity—will rush out to the streets in wild demonstrations, often as bloody as battlefields, to fight the danger of a nuclear war.

So far as India is concerned, the experiment with peaceful coexistence started long before Panch Shila, when the father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, wanted religions and races, capitalists and proletariat to coexist while India was suffering from the world's chronic illness of strikes and religious riots. In order to diminish the spirit of communal bitterness, Mahatma Gandhi invited the Muslim League leader, Md. Ali Jinnah, to join him as a brother in the war for liberation of the enslaved people of India. Jinnah raised a dispute over India's sovereignty and preferred to be a neighbour and Pakistan was born. His successors have gone a step further and are opposed even to the idea of good neighbourliness. What was a communal conflict before Independence soon transformed itself into an international dispute between two sovereign States.

Pinning his faith on the long history of Chinese friendship, Nehru turned his face against the Dullesian doctrine of alignment against Communist China. He did not want to have any truck with military alliances meant to contain Communist expansionism. A conspicuous instance in this regard was the South-East Asia "defence" bloc. In his speech in Parliament on September 29, 1954, Nehru pointed out that "the whole approach of the Manila treaty is not only wrong but dangerous."

Communist China posed as a peace-loving power and looked upon India with a beaming smile. In June 1954, Premier Chou En-lai flew from Geneva to Delhi where he and Prime Minister Nehru publicly re-affirmed the statement of Panch Shila—five principles of peaceful coexistence incorporated in the Sino-Indian agreement on Tibet. They were:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
2. Mutual non-aggression.
3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

4. Equality and mutual benefit.
5. Peaceful coexistence.

Lenin taught that Communists might resort to any kind of deception for their work. "We are blameless for this strategy of deceit," he warned bourgeois states, "because by refusing to our plans for your ultimate liquidation, you compel us to act in this way."

In his own case, after having accepted the humiliating Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty between the Soviet Union and Germany in March 1918, Lenin moved the following resolution at the Sixth Party Congress: "The Congress particularly emphasises that the Central Committee is authorised to break peace treaties with imperialist and bourgeois States at any time and also declare war on them" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 99). He called the international peace treaty "nothing more than a scrap of paper."

Following Lenin's precepts, the Chinese Communists also practised deception on India and produced the document of Panch Shila only to cover many of their sins, as was evident from later events along the Sino-Indian border leading to the Chinese invasion of India in 1962.

I was present at Peking Airport on October 19, 1954, when the residents of Peking extended the most affectionate and spontaneous welcome to Nehru on his arrival there. The warmth of the reception and its magnificence not only in Peking but also at Canton, Hangkow, Shanghai convinced us of the broad prospect of friendly co-operation between India and China and it strengthened our belief that it would promote peace in Asia. Premier Chou En-lai in his speech at a glittering banquet given by him in honour of Nehru on October 20, 1954, called him an "outstanding statesman" and catalogued and recalled India's all-round help to China. He said:

"The arduous struggles carried out by Mr. Nehru, together with Gandhi, for the Independence of India are not unfamiliar to us, the Chinese people. Mr. Nehru has long cherished a sympathy for the Chinese people's cause of independence and liberation. In the period when the Chinese

people were waging the war of resistance against Japan, Mr. Nehru showed great concern in the unity of China in resisting Japanese aggression. Following the founding of the People's Republic of China, India, under the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru, speedily established diplomatic relations with our country. Together with other peace-loving countries, India promoted and assisted in the realization of the armistice in Korea. Not long ago, India, together with the other Colombo Powers, made important contributions towards the restoration of peace in Indo-China. At present, India is fulfilling the task of supervising the armistice in Indo-China together with Poland and Canada. India constantly voices for the rightful place of the People's Republic of China in international affairs. It is a great pleasure for the Chinese people that, in the common cause of safeguarding peace, they have such a friendly neighbour in India and such an eminent friend in Prime Minister Nehru."

To our great delight, he recalled in his speech India's ties with China for more than two thousand years when "history left no record of war whatsoever between our two countries."

Referring to his own visit to India earlier in June when he had seen everywhere the heart-felt respect and warm affection for him and for the Chinese people whom he represented, he said: "Thanks to the warm co-operation of the Government and people of the Republic of India, especially to the warm co-operation of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, the Premiers of China and India issued a joint statement, putting forward the five principles of peaceful coexistence as the basic ones guiding the relations between China and India. Undoubtedly, the issuance of this statement is of historic significance. China and India, being the initiators of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, have the obligation to carry through these principles in our mutual relations, and to prove by facts that these principles are beneficial and not harmful to both parties. We have been doing this, and we will continue to do so. We believe that the peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation between China and India will certainly facilitate the gradual

realization of the peaceful coexistence among other Asian countries and the countries of the whole world."

Chou En-lai proclaimed that "the friendly co-operation of the 960 million people of China and India constitutes an important factor in the safeguarding of peace in Asia and the world. We hope that the established friendship between China and India will be further strengthened and developed so that Chinese-Indian relations will be a model for peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and ideologies."

Chairman Mao Tse-tung attended the reception that the Indian Ambassador to China, Nedyam Raghavan, gave in honour of Nehru in the evening of October 21. While proposing the toast Chairman Mao said, "The Chinese and the Indian people are resolutely for peace. The people of our two countries, like the people of the whole world, work resolutely for peace. Let us drink to the co-operation of the people of China and India; to the prosperity of the people of the two countries, and to world peace."

We witnessed a mounting wave of enthusiasm welling up in the hearts of Chinese leaders and people alike whether at the Peking mass rally or at the grand banquet at Chung Nan Hai given by Chairman Mao on the evening of October 23 in honour of our Prime Minister.

Nehru was also highly impressed and attached historical significance to the revival of the past contacts between the two countries. In his farewell speech at Canton Airport on October 30, he said, "I have seen this ancient country in a new garb, and it is the faces of youth that I shall specially remember, the vital, active, joyful faces of young men and women, boys and girls and children, that is the memory I shall especially carry with me and my ears will ring with your voices."

In international affairs, Nehru's policy of non-alignment brought together Nasser and Tito with him to create a third bloc of peace comprising most of the developing countries of Asia and Africa. At Bandung, Nehru invited Chou En-lai to share with him the leadership of the movement for world peace.

Premier Chou En-lai on the eve of my departure from Peking gave an autograph message in Chinese through me for India which affirmed the "comradeship between India and China". But alas! India's love for Panch Shila and "Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai" (India and China are brothers) appears only to have permitted the Chinese comrades to run away with Tibet—a cushion of space between the two countries. Chinese Communists abandoned all pretence of respecting Tibet's autonomy, ruthlessly crushed all opposition and sealed off Tibet from the outside world after the Dalai Lama had crossed over to India.

The entire edifice that Nehru—the dreamer—was building appeared to him to have tumbled when, in spite of the principles of Panch Shila, China betrayed him by launching a treacherous attack on India. In those days of Sino-Indian war, Nehru felt very miserable, disappointed at the great betrayal, which shattered his health and ultimately killed him.

A parting of ways came. India struggling to conquer poverty, was engaged in fighting rising prices and food shortages; China was engaged in a struggle to achieve a "Great Power" status. Peking, with its belief that a striking power alone confers political prestige on a nation, started to acquire nuclear capability.

The Whites have lost face and shed their Asian "burden". The U.S.A. wanted to contain Communism in these crisis areas by exporting both bread and bullets. But, China believes Asians having had bitter experience of foreign rule and a colonial past will no longer allow non-Asians to gain a foothold in their areas.

Having thus written off the Western powers, China is angry that the Soviet Union should consider weaning away India from the Western alliances a bigger prize than stirring up revolution in India. And so China, to promote her revolutionary ends, wants Pakistan to start another war with India. Following the pattern of the Vietnam war, Peking wants Pakistan to bear the main burden of the land battle with India. At the same time, Peking Radio is exhorting the people of India to rise in armed

revolt and assisting the Naga and Mizo rebels and the Naxalite group to foment internal unrest and chaos to force the democratic government "to succumb to armed insurrection."

India—torn by political bickerings in normal times and prayerful in times of crisis—must wake up to face her destiny with heroic vigilance. Mao's China, on the other hand, must choose whether she wants permanent revolution of the pre-atomic kind or would have peaceful coexistence.

Pleading for peaceful coexistence, Bertrand Russell described the present world situation with a fine illustration of two cars approaching one another on a narrow road at a very high speed. Both drivers are trying to force the other off the road as each wants to be the winner. But, if they realise that this race is likely to end in a collision in which both will die, they may become prudent and wheel off the road.

Khrushchev once referred to the biblical story of Noah's ark. The world was flooded after forty days' torrential rain. In order to survive the catastrophe people boarded Noah's ark. There were both bad and good people on it. If they refused to coexist and started fighting, Noah's ark would sink and all the people, be they good or bad, would be drowned.

It was in 1954. We, journalists, were taking our supper at a hotel in Hangchow in China on the bank of the beautiful West Lake. As we were in a hurry to catch the last train for Shanghai, we preferred the use of knife and fork to that of Chinese chopsticks. By the time we had almost finished, we noticed that a Chinese journalist was still struggling with fork and knife without making much headway.

Being the target of our attention, he changed at once to chopsticks and proposed a toast, reiterating his adherence to the five principles of coexistence initiated jointly by Nehru and Chou En-lai. He proposed, "I realise right now at the supper table that coexistence is essential for self-existence. I confess that my experiment with knife and fork—a method foreign to my habit—has left me half-starved."

But the policy of coexistence later became a red rag to China. Walter Ulbricht lamented at the 1963 East German Congress that the "Chinese comrades" had not adhered to peaceful coexistence "in dealing with frontier questions with India". China dismisses the United States as a "paper tiger" and underestimates the destructive capacity of nuclear weapons. But Khrushchev warned a gathering of delegates in East Berlin that the U.S.A. had roughly 40,000 nuclear bombs and warheads. He himself boasted of having 100 megaton bombs. "But what would happen if all those nuclear armaments were dropped on human heads?" he asked. As the result of the first blow alone 700 to 800 million people would perish. Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues argued that "none of the new techniques like atomic energy, rocketry and so on" had changed the basic characteristics of imperialism and its epoch, or the principles of political revolution. Mao writes : "The war in which will partake the largest number of the world people, is a bridge to take history over to a new era; the world can be remoulded only on the point of rifles; we want the end of war only by war; if you want to abolish rifle, hold on to rifle."

Maoists thus believe that war even in the nuclear age is inevitable for the world victory of Communism as against the Soviet belief of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems which would mean that capitalism will fully grow into socialism, and that the proletariat and all the exploited in countries ruled by the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, should "forget about the fact that they are living in a class society. All these are diametrically opposed to Marxism-Leninism". Isaac Deutscher (in an article reproduced in *The Statesman*, Calcutta, in June, 1963) wrote: "Mr. Mao holds that Moscow uses the threat of nuclear escalation in order to impose a standstill on world revolution; and that in effect it paralyses the forces of Communism in the capitalist and under-developed countries." He calls for a crusade to overthrow the international *status quo*.

"It is not sufficient to repeat the old truth that imperialism is aggressive", Otto Kuusinen of the CPSU Presidium retorted in April 1960 on Lenin's birth anniversary. "Imperialists do not want to trigger off war in order to perish in it", he said. "The

task", according to him, "is to make full use of new factors operating for peace in order to save humanity from the catastrophe of another war."

Following the current discord between 'fraternal parties' of China and Russia, the Chinese are said to have shifted their nuclear plants from Sinkiang to safer areas of Tibet. Peking has warned Moscow that if it uses nuclear weapons against China, the same weapons will be used against Russia. It is the common international duty of all socialist countries resolutely to support, strengthen and defend the socialist achievements realised at the cost of heroic efforts and selfless labour on the part of each of the peoples concerned, Peking claims.

Contrary to their international duty, a Russo-Chinese war with disastrous possibilities is looming large and this new development, while apparently appearing irrational, has set people re-thinking and asking whether even the same socialist system with two competing centres of authority in Moscow and Peking can coexist. On both sides of the firing line are ranged forces where fighters have rallied under the same Marxist flag to liquidate each other.

China cannot dismiss lightly the "over-kill" capacity of the Soviet Union which the latest report of the Institute of Strategic Studies in London indicates as standing at par with that of the U.S.A. China must be anxious to avoid a Russian attack.

One of the most significant slogans that were chosen for the Twentieth anniversary of the People's Republic of China, on October 1, 1969, exhorted "people of all countries to unite and oppose any war of aggression launched by imperialism or social imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons." It advises: "If such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression and preparations should be made right now."

The recent course of events shows that China is becoming careful. It is interesting to note that Chou En-lai made principles of peaceful coexistence the focal point of his speech.

at the 1969 anniversary. He reiterated that China was not going to launch a nuclear war, that her nuclear weapons would merely serve defensive purposes and that her aim was simply to break up the nuclear monopoly and eliminate nuclear weapons. He said that China was striving for peace on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

In spite of the bitter experience of the past, Chou En-lai's words will be particularly welcomed among China's neighbours in Asia, if they are faithfully adhered to.

China may have realised that it is one thing to go on making fun of the paper tiger, quite another to precipitate a situation in which a Russian nuclear strike may become a reality. Peaceful coexistence is thus emerging in the wake of these new contradictions within the socialist camp.

Despite vigorous opposition from Mao's China, the policy of peaceful coexistence is being maintained in the world against the background of the nuclear deterrent.

Speaking on West German Television, the Foreign Minister of Hungary said on January 5, 1970: "Europe contains the oldest capitalist nations. They could give to the rest of the world the example of coexistence."

The Soviet-American talks in Helsinki concerning the limitation of strategic arms, the Sino-Soviet meetings in Peking and the resumption of Sino-American bilateral discussions in Warsaw are developments of profound significance to the world.

Soviet concept of peaceful coexistence does not, however, rule out strengthening of the Soviet Union's international positions, supporting security of nations, in which she is interested, against aggression; and widening of national liberation struggle.

Although any armed conflict between both parts of Europe has become remote, chances of both sides getting involved in conflict outside Europe have become more real. That is the

reason why policy of coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union in Europe could not end the agony of Vietnam or West Asia.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the current world peace is being sustained by nuclear deterrent. But here certain questions come to Indian mind: can mankind make no progress at all towards a better world without nuclear blackmailing?

If humanity has to be saved from annihilation, Indians believe, peaceful coexistence must be charged with a spiritual dynamism. To Gandhi's heir Nehru, it was never a political or social dogma. Nehru said: "The world is a diverse place and there are diverse ways of living and functioning and thinking in it. . . Let us try to get rid of evil in the world and allow the variety of the world to continue."

He sought to see the world in diverse manifestations.

6

**RISE
OF
MAO**

Marx and Engels laid the foundations of the theory of Scientific Socialism; Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solving a number of problems of the proletarian revolution in the epoch of imperialism, solving questions of theory and practice of exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat within the bounds of one country. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism-Leninism, solving a number of problems of the proletarian revolution in the contemporary epoch, solving questions of the theory and practice of effecting the revolution and preventing the restoration of capitalism in conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such are the three great stages in the history of the development of Marxism. We acclaim the entry of the world into the new epoch of Mao Tse-tung!

—From *Three Great Stages in the History of Marxism* issued on June 1, 1967, by the East Glows Regiment of “red guards” at Peking Infantry School. No. 41.

Many of us have at one time or other fallen under Chairman Mao Tse-tung's spell. About Mao and his comrades, Nehru said, "They are confirmed Communists, but it is not Communism in full blood. It is adaptation to local conditions."

While in Peking, we, Indian journalists, expressed a desire to our hosts to meet Chairman Mao. But our Chinese comrades would not commit anything. Our prospect of meeting the Chairman therefore looked dim. But an opportunity presented itself soon when our Prime Minister Nehru was received by Chairman Mao at Ching Chen Hall and we were invited to be present there for five minutes. Our Chinese comrades would never tell us whether Ching Chen Hall was the residence of the Chairman or his office. However, we were waiting with great excitement to witness the historic meeting of the two great Asian leaders. Mao Tse-tung, accompanied by Chou En-lai, Prime Minister, Chu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the Republic of China, Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Madame Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen) and Chen Yun, Vice-Premier, made his entrance into the hall from our right. Being introduced by Chou En-lai, we were greeted by the Chairman with a winning smile. His countenance revealed strength and seriousness and had the mark of the storm that has been his lot to encounter in life. We again saw him at the reception given in honour of Nehru by our Ambassador, Mr. Raghavan. Nobody knew that Mao would come, but to the pleasant surprise of all he made his sudden appearance and proposed a toast to the health of our President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

I was on pilgrimage to Chairman Mao's native village. It was on November 8, 1954. Our train was approaching the city of Changsha in the province of Hunan for our projected visit. Innumerable lights of the city beamed like so many happy and friendly eyes, as if giving a hearty welcome to us. Of great antiquarian interest, the city of Changsha has another appeal to the popular Chinese mind. It is in a sense the birth-place of

the Chinese Communism as it has grown under Mao Tse-tung's leadership.

In Yulow San (*San* in Chinese means mountain) in the suburb of Changsha was situated the former Teachers' Training College at which Mao Tse-tung received part of his education. In the Evening Pavilion on one of the mountains, which we visited, he used to hold a study circle, where, with his comrades, he started studying Marxism. The circle came in time to form the core of the Communist Party as it has grown on the soil of China. Yulow San, situated on the bank of a river, combines within itself the beauty of both the mountain and the river making it an ideal holiday resort. These mountains have also a special importance of their own in the sense that they have been the foyer of learning and culture since the days of the Emperors of the Soong Dynasty, 1200 years ago. As at ashramas in ancient India, Chinese scholars in ancient times used to teach their pupils at small temples built on these mountains. There is one such ancient Buddhist temple still there, drawing a crowd of worshippers every day. Even now, of the five colleges at Changsha, three are located in this region of exquisite scenic beauty.

In the bright sunny morning on November 9, we set out on our journey from the Changsha guest-house for Mao Tse-tung's native village, Shau San Shang (*Shang* means village). Besides our interpreter, a local journalist from Changsha accompanied us. The village is about 100 kilometres (60 miles) from Changsha. Starting at 8 in the morning we motored through smiling co-operative corn fields, interspersed here and there with small hills. After about two hours' drive we reached the river Shong which we ferried, seated in our motor car. Crossing the river we by-passed the town of Changtang, an industrial centre of Hunan, with a population of about 1,70,000. Driving further about 55 kilometres onward, we reached our destination—Shau San Shang—the birth-place of Mao.

When our car stopped before the village guest-house Mr. Chau Pai ch'ou, in charge of it, was the first to greet us with

a friendly handshake. Mao Tse-tung's village derives its name, we were told, from a hill with a Buddhist temple on it, called Shau San, dominating that village. According to another version, based on a legend still widely current, the village derived its name from a benevolent Chinese Emperor of yore, Shau San, a great lover of his people, who once happened to halt at this village, while touring the area.

With such ancient connections the village has in recent times acquired an additional glamour because of its association with the great Chinese leader's early life.

From talks with Mr. Chau Pai-chou at the lunch table of the modern two-storied guest-house we got an idea of Mao's native village. It is a village, containing 616 families with a population of about 1,984. There are in this village five producing co-operatives with 114 families as their members and 328 families organised in mutual aid teams. We went out for sightseeing after lunch. A fairly big village, it covers a number of hills. The most striking peculiarity of the village is the widely isolated nature of its households. Walking amidst the impressive scenery, we soon came to the house where Mao lived till the 16th year of his life. Originally a hut built in 1878 by one of Mao's ancestors, it underwent structural changes several times till in 1898 it took its present shape of a middle class farmer's home. Mao paid his last visit to his house in February, 1927, about the time when the first revolutionary war, led by him, collapsed. In 1929, the house together with a farm of 22 mous (about 4 acres of land) attached to it, was confiscated by Chiang Kai-shek's Government. Since then the house had been lying uncared for. After liberation in 1949, the new Government took charge of it and got it repaired taking particular care to retain its original character.

As it stands today, it is a typical Chinese peasant home. It carries to this day some of the relics of the old system of peasant life, including a wooden structure of an altar suspended from a wall for the worship of manes. It has a room filled, since the days of distant past, with paddy-huskies like Indian *dhenkies*. Several bedrooms are there in which

furniture received by Mao's father, his brother and himself as marriage dowries are preserved. In the bedroom, which had been used by Mao's parents we saw their photographs, taken in 1919. The face in the mother's picture, as we saw it, bears a striking resemblance to Mao's own face. The father's picture has a protruding moustache. In Mao's own bedroom we found, preserved in a small show-case, two old books on arithmetic which the Chinese leader used to read in his 5th and 6th standards. The books bore not only the usual marks of handling by the young scholar, but also his name in his own handwriting with marginal notes scribbled by him on their pages. Mao's house has to this day a small pool in which he used to rear fish in his boyhood. While being shown round Mao-Tse-tung's house, we learnt that one of his uncles was still living in that village. So we went to see him.

A man of 76, bearing the name of Mao Yea-chao, Mao's uncle greeted us joyfully. Narrating Mao's early life from his recollections, the grand old man said that Mao was born on December 26, 1893, at this house. Mao Soong-shen, Mao's father, was then the head of the family. He was a very diligent and hardworking farmer of moderate means. He was a strict disciplinarian and, as such, very particular about the training of his children in correct Confucian discipline and deportment. His mother, a farmer's daughter, named Wen in her maidenhood, had been well known in the locality for her broad-mindedness. This and similar qualities of the mother naturally exercised a great influence in moulding the character of her children and of Mao Tse-tung in particular. Both she and Mao's father died in the same year 1919—she in the month of August and he in December. Mao with his two brothers and one sister survived their parents. His brothers Mao Tse-ming and Mao Tse-tang were also members of the Communist Party. They both suffered martyrdom, Tang in 1935 and Ming in 1942. Tang was a member of the Red Army of workers and peasants and died in fighting the KMT forces; Ming was shot dead under orders from the KMT Governor of Shing Chang province. Mao's sister Mao Tse-chi had been married to a very tyrannical farmer whom she had to leave. She later joined the Communist Party. She

was killed by the KMT troops at Hing Young in Hunan province in 1932.

At the end of my visit to Mao's village, Mr. Chau, the head of the guest-house, wanted me to record my impression of the village in the visitors' book, as I was the first Indian to visit that place.

I wrote: "A farmer boy of this village gave revolution a deathless wing and now shapes the destiny of China. It was a unique privilege for me to visit the native village of Chairman Mao Tse-tung."

Mao Tse-tung has, of late, become the centre of a tremendous controversy in the Communist world. The charge is levelled against him that being a Communist himself, he has driven a wedge into the world Communist movement.

One of the concepts embodied in Mao Tse-tung's "general line" is that main contradiction of the present-day epoch is between the "world city" and the "world village," between the "rich nations" which also include the Soviet Union, and the "poor countries," which include the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This concept of Mao is intended, it is alleged, to serve his plan of hegemony over the developing countries. Mao is trying to use the national liberation movements as the basic means of realising his goal.

In 1954, when I visited mainland China, I found socialist construction there closely and tremendously helped by Soviet Russia. The Chinese people were also grateful for the Soviet help in building many enterprises for them. When I referred to the increasing Sino-Soviet co-operation, Madam Li Teh-chuang, the then Health Minister, told us: "Russia is giving us new industrial plants and the U.S.A. is giving Chiang Kai-shek landing craft."

Madam Li was the widow of a war-lord, named Feng Yu-siang, who was the Deputy Generalissimo of the KMT Committee of Defence. Undoubtedly, as one of the ablest

generals he was running a close race for power with the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. During the anti-Japanese war when the capital of China shifted to Chungking, the rivalry between the Chief and his deputy became very sharp.

We were amused to hear of him in Chungking about the General. In Chungking, he would go out even in day time, carrying a lighted lamp in his hand. Asked why on a bright day he was carrying a lamp, he would good-humouredly say, "It is darkness all round under Chiang Kai-shek." The General died in an accident on board a ship in the Red Sea, caused by explosion of film materials, while returning to China from the U.S.A. in 1948. His wife was then one of the non-Communist Ministers of the People's Government.

The early 1960s saw China break with the Soviet Russia and challenge it for the leadership of the Communist world. Since then Maoism has become the ideological basis of the political course of China. But what exactly is Maoism? Maoism has been described as "a combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete experience of the Chinese revolution." "Thoughts of Mao" have been claimed as a universal doctrine valid for all people and showing the only correct way towards socialist reconstruction of the world, while Mao Tse-tung has been applauded as a thinker in the line of Marx and Lenin.

Mao, it is claimed, developed Marxism-Leninism showing how the fundamentals can be applied to the concrete conditions available in Asia, Latin America and Africa—the poor continents of semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries. Mao realised the revolutionary potential of the peasantry and the military significance of villages—remote from cities where the state machinery is directly felt. He developed the line—that of building rural bases and eventually encircling cities and occupying them.

In the post-Stalin era, when the world Communist movement was faced with the danger of revisionism in the shape of the CPSU adopting an anti-revolutionary policy, at home and

abroad—declaring Russia as a State of the entire people, saying that wars are not fatalistically inevitable; undermining the US imperialism's threat to the world peace, holding peaceful coexistence as a principle and not tactics,—Mao led the CPC to adopt a revolutionary line, different from the Soviet Union upholding the orthodox Leninist views on all these questions.

Mao developed the theory of contradictions—analysis of class contradictions before and after the establishment of the socialist base in a country—the political victory of Communist parties. But state take-over is “only a step in a journey of 1000 li”. The superstructure—the values, habits and culture—deriving from the past survives and they have to be fought continuously. Hence the need of cultural revolutions—to resolve the contradiction between the base and the superstructure.

Mao says that in colonial and semi-colonial countries only an alliance headed by the working class can complete the function of bourgeois revolution—elimination of feudal remnants and building the base for independent development. This is the intermediate stage in the socialist revolution which will then follow

A joint three-paper editorial published in connection with the centenary of Lenin's birth claimed that Lenin's mantle has now fallen upon Mao Tse-tung.

The same editorial in *People's Daily*, *Red Flag* and *Liberation Army Daily* opened by recognizing Leninism as “Marxism of the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution.”

After Lenin's death, it states, Stalin inherited Lenin's cause “in his struggles against domestic and foreign class enemies and against the Right and Left opportunists in the Party.”

It added that Comrade Mao Tse-tung had stated, “The Chinese people have always considered the Chinese Revolution a continuation of the Great October Socialist Revolution”, and proceeded to deny the legitimacy of the present Soviet leadership.

The editorial declared: "We are living in a great new era of world revolution. The international situation has undergone world-shaking changes since Lenin's time. The development of world history as a whole has proved that Lenin's revolutionary teachings are correct and that the banner of Leninism is invincible."

It went on: "But history has its twists and turns. Just as Bernstein-Kautsky revisionism emerged after the death of Engels, so did Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionism after the death of Stalin."

Says the editorial: "Eleven years after Khrushchev came to power", a split occurred within the revisionist clique and he was replaced by Brezhnev. More than five years have elapsed since Brezhnev took office. And now it is this Brezhnev who is conducting the 'commemoration' of the centenary of Lenin's birth in the Soviet Union".

Lenin is quoted as having once said: "It has always been the case in history that after the death of revolutionary leaders who were popular among the oppressed classes, their enemies have attempted to appropriate their names so as to deceive the oppressed classes."

"This", stresses the editorial, "is exactly what the renegade, Brezhnev, and his ilk are doing to the great Lenin. In their so-called theses on the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, they have the impudence to distort the great image of Lenin, the revolutionary teacher of the proletariat, and pass off their revisionist rubbish as Leninism. They pretend to 'commemorate' Lenin, but in reality they are appropriating the name of Lenin to press forward with their social-imperialism, social-fascism and social-militarism. What an outrageous insult to Lenin!"

In this context the editorial lays down as the "fighting tasks" of Peking to expose the class nature of "Soviet revisionist social-imperialism", to show that socialist-imperialism will meet its doom in accordance with "historical law", and to promote

the great struggle of the world against "U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reaction."

In mentioning the birth of Lenin the editorial refers to the Paris Commune, stating: "In 1871, the year after Lenin was born, the uprising of the Paris Commune occurred. This was the first attempt of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie."

It states: "In his struggles against opportunism and revisionism, Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the fundamental question in the proletarian revolution is that of using violence to seize political power, smash the bourgeois state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Recalling that Lenin had stressed that the socialist revolution covered a whole epoch of class conflicts, and that "until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration", the editorial adds: "Today, as we commemorate, the centenary of Lenin's birth it is of vital practical significance to study anew these brilliant ideas of Lenin."

The editorial asks how it was possible for a restoration of capitalism to take place in the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world, and answers that this is understandable as mainly a product of class struggle, especially if the question is examined in the light of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The editorial then quotes Mao.

"Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out: Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration."

Mao contends that antagonistic classes continue to exist under socialism also. Hence the political class struggle remains the motive force of the socialist society, and the creation of the material and technical basis of a developed socialist society and

the satisfaction of the growing material and cultural needs of the people are not the primary tasks of the Party under socialism. After the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat another revolution must be made along the lines of the "Cultural Revolution" in China.

Mao's slogan, "Agriculture is the foundation of the state" emphasises the role of the peasantry in the transformation of society. He vindicates violence, saying "the state perishes if it does not wage war." His permanent revolution relies on speeding-up of history, by violence, on leaps. His assertion that "the poorer the people, the more revolutionary they become" regards material welfare as contrary to the revolutionary ideal.

It appears Mao has become consumed with an insatiable even irrational revolutionary urge and has become infatuated with his own 'omnipotence'.

Maoism views armed struggle as the one and the only method of solving all the problems of a liberation movement. (Political power grows out of the barrel of the gun). Historical experience, however, shows that the struggle for national liberation can assume various forms. It may be peaceful or armed, depending on a country's conditions and the opposition put up by imperialists and colonialists. But Mao regards achievement of a political independence as a "sheer formality" and prescribes an adventurist guerrilla course of action to solve the problems of social revolution.

Mao, as an Asian Dictator is different from his European counterparts. "You must cure the disease to save the patient", says Mao. He does not by Stalinist purges liquidate his rivals. Methods of his struggle are: criticism and self-criticism—many may say, slander, humiliation, insults and physical violence. The "enemies" of Maoism were forced to "lower their heads", they were humiliated, placards with insulting inscriptions were hung around their necks and paraded on the streets. Many, of course, were unable to endure such public humiliation and committed suicide.

The centuries-old tradition of the Confucian ideology with its cult of obedience to authority, large population and a relatively high civilisation, and illusion that China was the centre of the World, left their imprints on Mao Tse-tung and the development of revolution in China under his leadership.

The question has arisen: Is Mao merely a nationalist who wants to wreak vengeance on the West which humiliated China in the past, even to the point of making them forcibly eat opium?

Is there an element of racialism in Mao who says "the East wind will prevail over the West wind?" Mao exhorts black men to fight white men in the U.S.A. (The Black Panther take their motto from Mao). Does not Lin Piao's theory of encircling Europe and America with the third world of Asia, Latin America and Africa, the world's villages smell of racial hatred?

Mao Tse-tung gave the army a special role in the Chinese revolution. With the shifting of the centre of the revolutionary movement to the countryside, its main force became the army, which consisted of peasants. Alongside guerrilla action it discharged essential political tasks and became an instrument for the political education of the people and even for government administration and party development. Mao said as far as back in 1929, "The Chinese Red army is an armed body for discharging the political tasks of the revolution," and acting faithfully according to the dictum that in order to remain in the saddle one has to maintain one's grip on the armed forces, Mao has effected the so-called cultural revolution in the course of his battle for maintaining his supremacy.

Since the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in August 1959, when the Minister of Defence, Marshal Peng Te-huai, was replaced, and Marshal Lin Piao took over, the Chinese Army became the pivot of Chinese development. By forming special political sections in all party and state bodies, and also in schools and communes, the Army has managed to become a power, which firmly controls the development in the vast country.

The nationalist character of Mao's political line was also amply demonstrated during the Second World War. At that time all Communist forces of the world were directed to support the People's war waged against German Fascism and Japanese militarism, Mao Tse-tung refused the request of the Comintern in the autumn of 1941 to step up the struggle against Japan in order to prevent it from striking at the rear of the Soviet Union.

Mao is now the bee in the bonnet of Soviet theorists. They are racking their brains to find an answer to the question, "Is Mao a Marxist at all?" Khrushchev compared Mao to a frog that fancied it could blow itself up as big as an ox.

A Soviet professor, Dr. M. Sladkovsky, in *Backgrounders* (vol. v, No. 23) writes:

"At the 9th Congress the Maoists, repeating through the lips of Lin Piao anti-socialist, Trotskyite theories, in effect renounced socialist construction in China, making the building of a new society dependent on a 'world revolution', on 'the liberation of all of mankind'. They allot China the paramount role in the discharge of this 'great mission' and declare war the one and only means of achieving their purpose.

"Preparations for war and a war itself to realise hegemonic great power ambitions represent the pivot of 'the thought of Mao' and the cornerstone of all of Maoist politics. The Peking leadership in subordinating all the PRC's activity at home and abroad to aims of external aggrandizement, adapting to this policy the entire system of a state power and economic set-up.

"Drawing upon the army and resorting to outright terror and violence, the Maoists have been able to disrupt the Party, demolish the constitutional system of authority that had operated in the PRC and plant so-called 'revolutionary committees' as agencies of a militarized bureaucratic dictatorship and docile militarized instruments in the hand of the 'great helmsman'. Suppression of popular democracy and maintenance in the country of a 'war camp' regime, coupled with the entrenchment

of the 'thoughts' and personal authority of Mao constitute the key aims and functions of the Maoist organs of the militarized bureaucratic dictatorship, which as Lin Piao puts it, will fight 'everyone daring to come out against Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung, whatever the time or circumstances.' This dictatorship naturally has nothing at all in common with the proletarian dictatorship, which as Lenin pointed out 'will for the first time create democracy for the people, for the majority, along with the necessary suppression of the exploiters, of the minority.'

"Over recent years China's militarization has assumed universal proportions, embracing not only the economy, and not only devouring upwards of 40 per cent of the national budget, but also extending to all other aspects of social life. Indeed, the scope is far in excess of the level required to maintain the proper national defences. By whipping up a war hysteria the Maoists seek to mobilise all material resources to the utmost and to infect the people with aggressive jingoism.

"In the situation that is developing socialised property in the PRC ceases to serve the people's interests. These resources are not being developed in conformity with a statewide plan to raise the people's material and cultural level, while the economy based on them is subordinated primarily to aims of external aggrandizement. Though state and co-operative property are still the economic mainstays of Chinese society, there is, however, the threat that this property will undergo social deformation and lose its socialist character. The economic policy prosecuted by the Peking leadership clashes with Lenin's injunction that 'the aim (and substance) of socialism; to make the land, factories, etc. in general all other means of production the property of all of society and replace capitalist production by production conforming to a common plan in the interests of all members of society.'

"The PRC's economy today divides into two sectors. One includes a narrow group of industries, connected with armaments manufacture and controlled by a centralised military department. These industries are lavishly subsidized by the state, are better

equipped from the technical point of view and enjoy to a fuller extent state services and benefits. During the years of the Cultural Revolution armaments manufacture was protected from the rioting 'Red Guards' and continued to develop; moreover special heed was paid to the development of nuclear armament which takes at least half the country's entire military budget. Civilian industries are in quite a different position. Over recent years they have not had a unified state-wide plan to conform to, their management is decentralised and they operate on a self-sustaining basis. In fact it is demanded of them that they 'rely on their own forces' or in other words get along without centralised investment and credit, take the initiative in looking for sources of raw materials, and serve above all the army and armaments production, retaining only the minimum, one diminishing from year to year, to meet the population's most urgent needs."

A Novosti Press Agency publication (Moscow) tracing *The Roots of Current Developments in China* writes :

"The 8th Congress (of the Communist Party of China) drew attention to the vital importance of the strict observance of the principle of collective leadership and of the struggle against the personality cult ; it changed the formulation of the fundamental, ideological and theoretical principles of the party by excluding the mention of Mao Tse-tung's "ideas" and emphasising in the new Rules that "the Communist Party of China is guided in its activity by Marxism-Leninism."

"But this development and the implementation of the 8th Congress decisions contradicted the political conceptions of Mao Tse-tung and created a real threat to his autocratic rule. In their attempt to prevent any further development in this direction and again to take the initiative, Mao and his adherents decided to exploit the atmosphere of national enthusiasm prevailing in the country and the natural desire of the Chinese people to turn the country as soon as possible into a developed socialist state. They proceeded from the fact that they, already had at their disposal the primary base for the develop-

ment of a modern industry in China, which had been built up with the help of the socialist countries.

"In 1958, Mao and his adherents brought forward the adventurist policy of the 'three red banners' (the general line, the great leap and the people's communes), which won the support of the overwhelming majority of party members who had not at first foreseen the disastrous consequences of this policy. But the policy meant a complete break with the line adopted in 1953 and confirmed by the 8th Congress in 1956; it was furthermore counter to the Declaration of the 1957 Moscow conference in which the fraternal parties jointly formulated the main objective laws of socialist construction. The CPC leadership disregarded the friendly advice of the Marxist-Leninist parties which became uneasy about the Chinese experiment and warned of its grave consequences. The 'three red banners' policy was an attempt to artificially speed up the rate of economic development through the extreme exertion on the part of the working people, to outstrip the other states, and to 'leap' into Communism by-passing the necessary stages of building a socialist society."

The policy was advertised by the CPC leadership as a model for the development of other countries.

Right from the beginning of his political career, Mao's conduct made him an object of suspicion to the Communists who took him to be allergic to Marxism. In 1924, Mao was expelled from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and his activities and ideological stand were denounced by the CPC. The CPC alleged that he was in league with the Kuo-mintang—the reactionary right forces. Subsequently, Mao confessed his guilt in a vein of self-criticism and sought to retrieve the lost ground by an active participation in the peasants' movement.

As head of the Communist Party's new peasant department, Mao organised in 1926-27 a peasant uprising in Hunan. In his famous *Report of an investigating of Peasant Movement in Hunan*, he asserted his belief that peasants, not the urban prole-

tariat, held the key to the Chinese revolution. While Mao Tse-tung was carrying on peasant uprising in Hunan province. Liu Shao-chi took over the task of rebuilding Communist Party labour forces in Shanghai. After 1931, Chou En-lai joined him.

The Kuomintang government under Chiang Kai-shek decided in 1926 to move north from its headquarters in Canton to break the power of the warlords ruling East and North China and establish a central authority. By early 1927, the KMT government, under left-wing influence, was established in Wuhan. In 1926 and 1927, the Comintern theoreticians and the Soviet Union including Stalin looked upon Chiang Kai-shek as a national bourgeois leader "marching with the revolution." He was counted upon as an ally on the assumption that the Communists could gradually take over from him by subversion.

From Wuhan, Chiang moved with the bulk of the KMT troops towards Shanghai. By this time the Communist Party of China (CPC) carried out a successful armed rising in Shanghai. But the CPC allowed Chiang's armies to enter the city. Chiang Kai-shek took the opportunity to liquidate a large number of Communists and set up his own rule. The CPC-KMT alliance was shattered and it was Chiang and the right wing of the KMT who dominated the national government set up in Nanking in 1928.

Faced with persecution, the Communist movement in China was forced to retreat to the villages. Having left the cities, its ties with the working class also weakened.

Hard pressed by Chiang Kai-shek and his armies Mao and his forces embarked upon the legendary 1934-35 "Long March" to Yen-an. Mao consolidated his power in the Party from the "Long March." When Mao reached Yen-an he demanded that all who claimed leadership roles in the movement leave the underground in KMT China and join him in his new north-western base. Liu Shao-chi and Peng Chen joined the Yen-an group at this time.

In 1931, Japan invaded China and established a protectorate over Manchuria. Both the Kuomintang and the Com-

munist Party proclaimed war against Japan, but neither was strong enough to chase her out. The Communist Party's new base in Yen-an was threatened by Japan. Mao proposed a setting up of an Anti-Japanese People's United Front.

At the end of 1936, two KMT Generals rebelled against Chiang while he was inspecting the forces in Sian. The stage was set for killing him. Receiving the information, Mao sent Chou En-lai to persuade the rebels to set Chiang free. And he was set free.

The question was naturally asked why Mao had taken so much trouble to save Chiang Kai-shek who had caused the death of thousands of Communists. Mao is a brilliant tactician. By allowing Chiang to go scotfree from Sian he pressurised KMT to accept the CPC slogan of a United Front against Japanese Imperialism. Mao gained everything by making the Front: infiltration in the KMT rank and file; good wishes of intelligentsia; the nationalist glamour; and the leadership in the anti-imperialist struggle. War over, it is Chiang who found himself in the wilderness surrounded by troops unwilling to fight the Red Army.

Despite the defeat it suffered in the 1924-1927 civil war, the Communist Party of China managed to preserve some military formations which later became the backbone of the Red Army; as a result of the 1935-36 north-western campaign the Red Army emerged from deep isolation and acquired a reliable rear in the shape of the USSR; Kuomintang Nationalists, the Chinese Communist Party's principal political opponent, became incapable of effectively heading the national liberation, anti-Japanese struggle.

The policy of United Front from 1937 to 1945, helped CPC to convert itself into a mass political party, the most influential in the country.

Mao Tse-tung's own base in the "old days" was usually in the countryside, notably in Kiangsi from 1928 to 1934, and in Yen-an (Shansi) from 1935 to 1949. At the 7th Congress in

1945, Mao's full control over the Party was proclaimed and "Mao Tes-tung's ideas were accepted as the CPC's theoretical basis for all its activities."

Mao in April 1945, called for an end to the KMT's "one party dictatorship and the setting up of a democratic Central Government and a united Supreme Command."

When in August 15, 1945, the Far Eastern war ended, it was clear that the Communists would not recognise the authority of Chiang Kai-shek's Government unless it acceded to their demands. Meanwhile, they took advantage of the Japanese surrender to enlarge and re-equip their own forces. The negotiation between KMT and CPC bogged down. In 1946, the Communists and the Nationalists began a civil war in right earnest. The mass of Chinese people, exhausted by years of war and civil strife, lost enthusiasm about the Nationalists. The Sino-Japanese war strengthened the CPC and weakened the Nationalists, for Mao was able to pose as the champion of the peasantry in its search for better conditions of life. In January 1949, Shanghai fell. The decisive victory of the Chinese Red Army was also greatly helped with the defeat of Japanese militarism by the Soviet army. On July 1, Mao made his statement "on the People's Democratic Dictatorship."

The great task of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China concluded with the establishment of the People's Republic in October 1949. One important characteristic of the revolution was that in spite of its bourgeois-democratic nature, the Chinese bourgeoisie did not act as the leader of the revolutionary movement. The strongest section of the bourgeoisie was connected with foreign capital and together with it constituted the main enemy of the revolution. Another section—the national bourgeoisie—being very weak and vacillating could not lead the revolution but being interested in the liquidation of the domination of foreign imperialists, played the role of fellow-traveller. The revolutionary movement was headed by the Communist Party of China. In the anti-colonial and anti-feudal phase of the revolution, the immediate goals of the proletariat, the peasantry, and the national bourgeoisie coincided. This

led to the formation of a United Front of these classes. It was different from the socialist revolution in that it (1) established the democratic dictatorship of the people i.e., of a number of revolutionary classes instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao headed the Government which was a political alliance of the KMT Revolutionary Party, the Democratic League and others under the leadership of the Communist Party on the basis of a common programme and (2) retained the system of private property.

The nature of the new state can be judged by the General Programme of the People's Political Consultative Council of China, adopted on September 29, 1949, which declared that the people's power had abolished all special right and privileges of the imperialist powers in China, had confiscated bureaucratic capital and passed it into the possession of the people's state. that it would transform strictly step by step the feudal and semi-feudal system of landownership into a system of peasant landownership, would protect public, state and co-operative property, as well as the economic interests and private property, of workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, and would develop the national economy of the new democracy in order to transform China from an agrarian country into an industrialised one.

In his *Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China*, Mao wrote: Every Communist must understand that on the whole the revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party of China is a common revolutionary process covering both the stage of the democratic revolution and that of the socialist revolution. These are two revolutionary processes different in nature, and it is only on the completion of the first that one can start the completion of the second One can correctly guide the revolution in China only after having realised the difference between the democratic and socialist revolutions and at the same time having sized up the connection existing between them. (*Mao Tse-tung: Selected Works*, Moscow, 1953, Vol. III pp. 180-181).

But the differentiation between these two stages of revolution was later ignored and the democratic revolution of 1949, with

joint public-private companies, with guaranteed percentage of profits to capitalists, was characterised as a socialist revolution.

The report of the Central Committee of the 8th CPC Congress in 1956 declared: "After the establishment of the People's Republic of China—the democratic dictatorship of the people became essentially a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, this created for our bourgeois-democratic revolution the possibility of immediately developing in a peaceful way into a proletarian, socialist revolution."

Mao Tse-tung also issued the following statement: "At present our country is passing through a great socialist revolution. The establishment of the People's Republic of China marked the transition of the Chinese revolution from the stage of bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist stage, in other words, the entry into the transition period from capitalism to socialism. Since the summer of the last year (1955) socialist reorganisation, i.e. the socialist revolution, has been going on an exceptionally wide scale. In approximately another three years, the socialist revolution will be completed on the whole in the entire country."

Only six months after his speech, the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China proclaimed the complete victory of the socialist system. Mao Tse-tung launched the grandiose experiment of the "great leap forward". It was initiated by the second session of the 8th Congress held in May 1958, which advanced a new general line—"to build socialism according to the principle: quicker, the better and more economical"—approved new, higher targets of the Second Five Year Plan.

According to the line of the "great leap", China in a few years was to catch up with the USSR and the USA in the level of productive forces, and to organisationally become a conglomeration of communes built on the Communist principles of production, distribution and relations between people. The country was thus set for the task of immediate transition to Communist society.

Agricultural co-operatives were reorganised into people's communes, which were regarded as the smallest cell of the country's production complex; the development of industry in the countryside was to lead to the eradication of differences between town and country. The peasants were to study and participate in management and cadres were to do field work, so that both would do physical and mental work; agricultural work and cattle-breeding alternating with work in workshops were to lead to the eradication of difference between workers and peasants. The introduction of a number of free public services and the rejection of the principle of payment according to work, the collective way of life where the family ceases to be an economic and social cell of society—all these reflected a policy of quick "introduction" of Communism through people's communes.

The first rift in the Peking Government appeared when Party Chiefs Kao Kiang and Jao Shu-shih of the North-east (Manchuria) Party Bureau were accused of having conspired to overthrow the group in power in Peking, and were purged; it was later reported that they had committed suicide. Another leadership split developed in 1956-1958. It was from this split that the Cultural Revolution in China originated.

In July 31, 1955, Mao in his report, *The Question of Agricultural Co-operation*, proclaimed that "throughout the Chinese countryside a new upsurge in the socialist mass movement is in sight. But some of our comrades are tottering along like a woman without feet, always complaining that others are moving too fast." He called, therefore, for the inclusion of about 30 million households, double the number already collectivised, by the spring of 1958.

One of the main reasons for the drive was that the Party—now to some degree a proletarian based—was less anxious to gratify peasant demands and was confident that the peasants would follow it whenever it wanted to lead them. Mao wanted to narrow the gap between the peasants and the proletariat, exercise a stronger control over the rural areas, and tap rural resources more effectively for the purpose of accumulation of capital.

Denied of Soviet aid Mao knew China would have to go it alone and industrialise the country drawing on its own resources and its vast manpower.

The Party adopted on August 29, 1958, the resolution on the establishment of the communes.

The reasons given in the resolution for the creation of the communes were two-fold: "The all-round, continuous leap forward in China's agricultural production; and the ever-rising political consciousness of the 500 million peasants."

Communes were meant to organise the population for communal living as well as for collective labour. Meals were to be had in communal mess halls rather than in the home. Children were to be put into communal nurseries and boarding institutions. Women were to participate fully, along with men, in the work of the communes. The rural population was to be rehoused in special barrack-like buildings and old houses were to be demolished to provide necessary building materials.

In the ideological sphere the communes symbolised a spurt towards the ultimate goal of a Communist society. In its resolution of August 1958, the Chinese Communist Party called the communes, "the best form of organisation for the attainment of socialism and gradual transition to Communism," and asserted that they "will develop into the basic social units in Communist society."

In 1958, China introduced communes in rural areas and mobilised labour power on a scale unprecedented in human history. It was a labour-intensive method in contrast to the Soviet method of mechanisation.

Mao claimed that the "communes" and "great leap forward" represented a blue-print for Communism for which Moscow was still groping. The seeds of Sino-Soviet conflict lay in the Chinese claim that the Chinese model for both seizing power and building socialism was more suitable for under-developed countries than the Soviet revolution.

At the time of the initiation of the "great leap" policy, wide publicity was given in China to the following words of Mao Tse-tung, directed against the Soviet Union: "You have been building socialism for 40 years and have failed. We shall build up Communism in five or six years."

This new political policy of Mao Tse-tung was called the "Three Red Banners," formulated in the following way: "By straining every effort, by striving forward, to build socialism in keeping with the principle: More, quicker, better, with the least expenditure, the big leap and the people's communes."

Mao attempted to gate-crash the future by sheer will-power and enthusiasm to achieve utmost speeding up of socialist construction.

A party magazine gave the following account of life in the Chao Ying commune in Honan:

"At daybreak, bells ring and whistle to assemble. . . . In about a quarter of an hour the peasants line up. At the command of company and squad commanders, the teams march to the fields, holding flags. Here one no longer sees peasants in groups of two or three, smoking and going slowly and leisurely to the fields. What one hears are the sounds of measured steps and marching songs.

"All the ties that bind the peasants are broken. . . . The frames of individual families which had existed for thousands of years have been completely smashed . . . individualism has absolutely no market here."

As a result of the 'great leap' backyard furnaces mushroomed in rural areas with iron and steel targets progressively raised as each month went by.

However, by November 1958, the *People's Daily* admitted that a great deal of the iron produced by "backyard furnaces" was of such poor quality that it could not be converted into steel.

In September 1958, when the Central Committee met in plenary session, opposition to Mao's scheme was reported. In December 1958, at another Central Committee meeting, it was announced that Mao was resigning the chairmanship of the Republic (while retaining his chairmanship of the party), and in April 1959, Liu was named to fill the vacancy. It seems that the serious failings of the "great leap forward" produced the crisis.

From 1959 on, the party and the country were run by Liu, who undertook the responsibilities of salvaging the economy.

The failure of the "great leap forward" was aggravated by three successive bad harvests between 1959 and 1961, mismanagement and unsound agricultural policies and by the withdrawal of Soviet aid and experts in 1960.

Soviet experts took with them their blue-prints leaving behind partly finished projects in China.

People played up the superiority of individual farming and called for the return of the land. They wanted to demolish the communes. The party and State cadres responsible for managing the economic and cultural affairs of the country were apprehensive; they realised that the continuation of the policy of Mao Tse-tung would lead China to disaster.

Mao saw in this a threat not only to his authority but also to his political doctrine, which, he hoped, will immortalise his name.

Mao, as stated earlier, was able to defeat a serious challenge to his position in the summer of 1959. Marshal Peng Te-huai, Defence Minister, who objected to the Maoist line, was dismissed, and Marshal Lin Piao was appointed in his place.

At a meeting of the Military Affairs Committee of the Central Committee in October 1960, Lin Piao outlined his programme to intensify political training in the Army. The Army proved to be the chief bulwark of the Mao-Lin group during the period of party turmoil.

In February 1964, Mao urged the party to learn from the experiences of the People's Liberation Army in political and ideological work. Since then the Army's role in the country's political and ideological affairs has been very great.

Mao Tse-tung, who had personally led every major struggle in China, after long preparations, started the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Cultural Revolution is an ideological struggle, a struggle against bourgeois values propagated by capitalist roaders. Joan Robinson in her book *Cultural Revolution* deals with this aspect of the revolution and compares it to the earlier rectification campaign and appreciates its merit in the context of the rise of Soviet revisionism. Mao holds that State takeover is nothing unless a continuous battle is waged against 'self-interest' and 'revisionism'. If the combat is loosened, the danger of a capitalist restoration is always there in a socialist state.

Mao emphasised his principle of unending class struggle at the Central Committee meeting of September 1962 to oppose the more expedient line of Liu.

It seems the difference between Mao and Liu on working out priorities also accentuated the political struggle in the highest echelon of the Chinese Communist Party hierarchy.

The Maoist thesis was that collectivisation must precede a high level of mechanisation on the farms. According to Mao, only through collectivisation can the necessary resources for rapid mechanisation in China be mobilised.

Liu Shao-chi, it is said, insisted to the contrary that mechanisation, an abundance of fertilizers, farm tools and machines, and extensive irrigation were necessary before the collectivisation could be completed.

In February 1966, the Central Committee of the CPC to the great displeasure of Mao approved the thesis pressed by Peng Chen and Lu Ting-yi. They proclaimed: "All people are equal before the truth; matters should not be settled by force and people should not be suppressed by force."

There was good reason for Mao to believe that Liu Shao-chi, Peng Chen and others intend to challenge his authority. Having known the fate of Stalin, Mao might have been concerned about his own future and perhaps sought his security by including "hereditary principle" in the Rules of the Party and naming Lin Piao, his closest associate as his "successor."

For several months from the autumn of 1965 through the spring and early summer of 1966, Mao seemed to have left Peking and established himself in Shanghai to cultivate a new power base from which to strike out at his enemies. He had been in the habit of wintering in near-by Hangchow for some years before 1965. It appears that the basic steps were taken in early 1966 to prepare for the mobilization of an extra party Maoist force—the Red Guards. During the period between May and November 1966, it seemed, however, that the rival party leaders had not ruled out the possibility of a reconciliation.

But the turning point came in December 1966, when party leaders failed to reach a reconciliation and the Red Guards' attacks were unleashed.

At the beginning of 1967, the struggle for power broke out in almost everywhere. Maoist leaders mobilised revolutionaries to seize power from established officials. This followed a bitter conflict among various factions of the revolutionaries themselves.

The industrial administrators working in concert with local party cadres, bestowed material benefits on workers to win them over and resist the Red Guards.

Mao raised the slogan: "Politics is the commanding force" and declared that the basic task of the party during the period of socialist construction was not economic, not promotion of material production, not satisfaction of the material needs of the people, but "revolutionisation" of their consciousness.

The very idea that "the principal task of the industrial enterprises is to develop production" is regarded by Mao as "a big fraud". The "revisionist theory of running the economy by

economic methods", laying stress on profit, income, money and material incentives only corrupt the workers and peasants. Any attempt of the working people for an improvement in their material conditions is considered as nothing but "manifestation of base interest," as "selfishness", "bourgeois individualism" and "counter-revolutionary economism."

The ideological opponents of Mao,—his erstwhile revolutionary colleagues and friends were described as "enemies of the people", "traitors to the revolution", "bandits", "scum" etc. Names of enemies were announced—Secretary of the Peking Party Committee Teng To, Vice-Director of the Propaganda Department of the CCCPC Chou Yang, Professor Li Ta, a member of the Communist Party from its foundation and many others. The charges against them were: criticism of the "three red banners" (the "great leap forward", "people's communes" and "general line"), criticism of the "thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" and disagreement with Mao's policy of breaking off relations with the Soviet Union.

Not until Liu and Teng came under attack did Moscow make its attitude clear about China. An editorial in *Pravda* on November 27, 1966, announced that henceforth the Soviet Union would distinguish between "Mao and his group" and other Chinese Communist leaders, and would do everything necessary to defeat Maoist policies. In the spring of 1967, the Soviet Union launched an aggressive radio campaign to foment unrest in China. Soviet urged the ethnic units of the PLA to disobey, and peasants and workers to take up arms.

In May 1966, it was disclosed that the Liu Shao-chi faction was trying to replace Chou En-lai by Peng Chen. Mao prompted the Shanghai Municipal Committee to attack the Peking Organisation. Between June and December mobs of raving youths and school children broke on to the scene and began to beat, terrorize, humiliate, manhandle the opponents of Mao's group.

There was serious disruption in the communication system of the country. From autumn 1966 to early spring 1967, China's railways were used for free transportation of Red Guards, eleven

million of them travelled to and from Peking and another 50 million travelled throughout the rest of the country.

The First Secretary and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, CPC, Peng Chen, was removed from his post on June 2, 1966.

It was in August 1966, that the Party Central Committee, in the control of Mao and his supporters, degraded President Liu Shao-chi, then Chief of State of the Chinese People's Republic and long-time heir-apparent to Mao Tse-tung and made Marshal Lin Biao the sole Vice-chairman of the Party.

This event followed Mao's personal call for the "bombardment of the headquarters" or the centre then in the hands of Liu and the "Decision on the Proletarian Cultural Great Revolution" as the guideline for the movement.

It was also in August 1966, that the Chairman personally met the Red Guards for the first time at a mass rally at which Marshal Lin Biao gave his first speech as the one and only "closest comrade-in-arms" of Mao.

In the same month, the Red Guards were let loose to destroy the "four olds" (old culture, habits, customs and ideas) with Chiang Ching (Mao's wife) emerging as their leader. The Red Guards were unleashed against certain party officials, intellectuals and businessmen under the direction of Mao's wife. Mass rallies were held constantly, and Maoist leadership, represented by the Cultural Revolution Group, extolled "struggle" and "revolution" in their campaign. The Cultural Revolution turned to be a Mao-Lin counter offensive against the authority of Liu Shao-chi and other leaders. Mao was able to break up the anti-Mao Peking power centre. The Peking Party Committee was dissolved, and Mao moved back to Peking.

Peng Chen had disappeared, as had the Army's Chief of Staff, Lo jui-Ching, and the Party Secretary-General, Teng Hsiaping, was in disgrace. Even the venerable Marshal Chu Teh

was lampooned. Harry Gelman, in his *Problems of Communism*, called "the unprecedented method of conducting purge by humiliating and discrediting an entire provincial party organisation rather than by replacing individual officials even beyond anything conceived by Stalin."

The heaviest blow of the Cultural Revolution fell precisely on the Communist Party of China. The facts and figures revealed over three-quarters of the membership of the Central Committee, almost two-thirds of the Politburo and nearly the entire Secretariat of the Central Committee of CPC had been subjected to reprisals. Mao plunged himself into the mass movements, "struggle — criticism — transformation" meaning establishment of Revolutionary Committees of three-in-one combination of cadres, soldiers and rebels on municipal, provincial levels and in autonomous regions; mass criticism and repudiation for purifying the class ranks and rectifying the Party organisation. The entire system of organs of State power at the centre and in the provinces was paralysed: Trade unions, youth, social and cultural organisations which used to play an important part in the country's political life were disbanded. 'Revolutionary Committees' exercising the functions of provincial organs of power, have taken the place of Party committees and the legally constituted organs of power.

The Revolutionary Committees became organs of power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman MAO with Vice-chairman Lin Biao that represented in a concentrated way the interests of the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of the labouring people. It was the only centre of leadership for the whole party, the whole army, the whole nation and the masses of revolutionary people.

From time to time armed clashes marked the progress of the Cultural Revolution and within the Mao's group, the army. Red Guards and rebels were engaged in internecine struggle. Mao then launched a campaign for the "great revolutionary unity" of the army, the Red Guards and the rebels, to unite his supporters, who were fighting among themselves for power, and

go over later to a physical liquidation of the forces opposing Mao Tse-tung. And it was claimed that "the brilliant rays of Mao Tse-tung's thought are lighting up all China and the entire world."

The 11th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sanctioned the Cultural Revolution.

The communique said, "after two years of an extremely complex and extraordinary acute class struggle and thanks to the unprecedentedly wide and effective mobilisation of hundreds of millions of people and the supporters of the People's Liberation Army of China," Liu Shao-chi was removed from all his party and State posts and expelled for life from the CPC, while "his agents in the localities have been smashed."

The twelfth plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee was held in October 1968, and the final defeat of Liu Shao-chi was proclaimed.

History develops in a complex and winding way and Mao, having been himself a great Marxist-Leninist, put the main stake on the rebellious youth, peasants and the Army who replaced the Communist Party with success. Mao, to promote his ends, exploited fully the political immaturity of the teen-agers and the illiteracy and backwardness of the masses.

Mao is above the party and it is now compulsory in China to study and apply "Mao's thought."

It may be interesting to know many of the reforms now being implemented in China which are aimed at transforming the countryside by making it an attractive place to live in and boost farm production.

The Maoist approach to it is set forth in Mao's May 7, 1966 directive which provides the guidelines for transforming the countryside. Excerpts, appearing in a *People's Daily* editorial of August 1, 1966, described Mao's aspiration for a radical change in the peasant life. "While the main task of

the peasant in the communes is agriculture (including factory, animal husbandry, side occupations and fishery), they should at the same time study military affairs, politics and culture. Where conditions permit, they should collectively run small plants."

The Maoists consider small local plants, financed locally and producing for local needs—an institutional form which meets Peking's political objectives as well as its economic needs.

Factories are also being dispersed from cities, especially, Shanghai, to places as distant as Szechuan. The objective is stated to be primarily strategic based on the Maoist call for preparation of war.

The period of university education is shortened—the longest courses including those for medical training, seem to be no longer than three years. The general goal now is to train "barefoot doctors" in the rudiments of both Western and traditional Chinese medical disciplines. Their task is to treat minor ailments and carry on routine public health work.

The total period of primary and middle school education is being compressed from 12 to 9 years.

Students at the University level will be selected only after having worked on farms or in factories for two or more years. Moreover, they will have to return to production jobs after graduation.

People's Daily (April 21, 1969), described a system of selecting students for a two-year "May 7 Agricultural Senior Middle School" in Honan which might serve as a model for others. This system "guarantees the return of students to the production brigades after two years of study, and it guarantees enrolment of students from each and every production brigade and the training of 'indigenous experts' for each brigade."

The selection process, which seemed to give the peasants an important role, began with commune authorities giving each

brigade a quota of students to be assigned to the school. Brigade authorities then select candidates from among those who had completed junior middle school and who had been examined at a mass meeting on such matters as loyalty to Chairman Mao, political background, ideology, and work record.

The names of successful candidates are then forwarded to the Revolutionary Committee of the commune, which makes the final selection.

Despite enhanced authority of local officials over education, financial responsibility is being transferred from the Government direct to the farms. This is being accomplished by making brigades operate primary schools and communes operate middle schools. 85-90 per cent of primary and junior middle school children at present attend schools in the rural areas.

Another major step taken under Mao's direction has been the transfer of a vast number of urban residents—perhaps 15-25 million or some 10-20 per cent of all city dwellers—to rural areas. A Radio Shanghai broadcast said that since 1968 one city, with its population of ten million, has sent 5,00,000 “educated youths” to rural areas. Many of them are being integrated, individually, or in small groups, into production teams and brigades. Some are being sent to special “May 7 farms” operated by the Army.

But it is a mistake to think that normality has returned to China under Mao's leadership. Mao and his allies in the People's Liberation Army are still facing trouble from the disgraced Head of State, Liu Shao-chi, and his “organisational” Communist supporters. The Red Guards, whose emotions fuelled the Chinese Cultural Revolution to help Mao overthrow the “Party power holders” are mainly held responsible for the unsettled situation. The lawlessness and the hatred of the Red Guard movement, which he himself launched, appear to have at last rebounded on him. The newspaper, *People's Daily*, referred to the phenomenon of “everyone sounding his bugle, each playing his own tune, each banging his own cannon.”

And once again, according to an article in the *Red Flag*, the Maoist theoretical journal, success is assured if the Chairman's teachings that "the masses are the real heroes," that "the masses have boundless creative power," and that "direct reliance on the revolutionary masses is the basic principle of the Communist Party", are strictly observed.

Chairman Mao will complete 77 this year. He has made the choice of guns before rice and China has put its first space satellite into orbit. *Tung fung hung*—"the East is Red"—is the message Mao's earth satellite sends out to the world, specially to the West which belied the orthodox Marxist hope of the advanced proletariat carrying out revolution. This revolutionary mystique of the East goes back not only to Lenin but even to Kautsky who in 1902 wrote that the "epicentre of revolution is moving from the West to the East." Lenin, 20 years later, quoted these words with ironic delight obviously against Kautsky himself. In the Second Congress of the Third International its echo was heard when M. N. Roy, the *enfant terrible* from India, much to Lenin's own chagrin, dwelt on the revolutionary potential of the East.

In its first detailed analysis of Maoism, *Pravda*, the Communist Party newspaper of the Soviet Union, on May 18, 1970, said that Mao Tse-tung "for a certain period posed as a Marxist and now even tries to pass himself for a successor of Marx and Lenin".

In fact Maoism is a "reactionary-utopian, petty bourgeoisie in concept", an "eclectic mixture of most different outlooks including elements of Confucianism, Anarchism, Trotskyism and petty bourgeois nationalism".

"From Confucianism Mao took the most conservative aspect of that philosophy, especially the teaching of the spirit of obedience, the praising of authoritarian power and the cult of the supreme ruler."

From petty bourgeois teaching Mao inherited ideas about the revolutionary role of the peasantry, belittling that of the working class, and from bourgeois-nationalistic movements he got the "messianic idea of China's exclusiveness".

Among ideas he borrowed from Trotskyism were "rabid anti-Sovietism" and "their methods of subversive activity in the ranks of the international Communist and workers' movements", *Pravda* said.

"Super revolutionism in words and betrayal of class interests of the working people in deeds—such is the genuine essence of Maoism in the field of international relations", the paper said while accusing Peking also of engaging in subversive activities against countries of the socialist camp.

Pravda compared the regime of Mao Tse-tung to Adolf Hitler's Germany and accused it of scheming to dominate Asia and the whole world.

It said, "never before have any renegades or people on the payroll of class enemies of the proletariat inflicted such damage to the world revolutionary process as Peking leaders are now doing."

But Maoism is marching apace and behind it paces the warden Chairman Mao. It is said, one day in Fontainebleau Napoleon was looking at a map of the world when his eyes came to rest on China. "China, there lies a sleeping giant", said the soldier-statesman. "Let him sleep for a while, for when he wakes, he will move the world."

The giant has now woke up from his deep slumber of centuries. Only the future can tell whether he will be a malevolent ogre or a benevolent mammoth like one of those in our Hindu mythology who in the twilight of creation, held and sustained the earth against the yawning cataclysm.

7

TALES
OF
TWO CHINAS

An apparent peculiarity of the 700-million strong Chinese people, not to mention other peculiarities, is poverty and that they are like a clean sheet of paper ; at first sight, this is bad, but upon reflection it is good. Poverty makes one think of changes, obliges one to act, to carry out a revolution. There is nothing on a clean sheet of paper but one can put on it the newest, the most beautiful pictures.

—Quotation from Mao Tse-tung

I think that if Communist China's per capita national income exceeds \$ 200 a year, the Chinese people's way of thinking would undergo a considerable change and they would no longer be influenced by the quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung alone.

—Kiichi Aichi, Foreign Minister of Japan

Socialist property in Russia has two forms : State property, and co-operative property.

State property, that is, property belonging to the whole people includes the land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, industrial enterprises (factories, mills, mines) and their output, railways, river, sea and air transport, State farms and their output, banks, means of communications, municipal, cultural and other enterprises and institutions (hospitals, clinics, sanatoriums, holiday homes, schools, universities, film studios, cinema houses, theatres), the bulk of the housing fund in the cities. More than 90 per cent of all production facilities are State property.

Co-operative property is a property of separate working people's collectives united in various types of co-operatives for joint endeavour: agricultural producer co-operatives (collective farms) housing and other co-operatives. The most widespread form of co-operatives is the collective farm (kolkhoz). On joining collective farms peasants socialise their labour and the basic means of production: farm implements, all draught animals and part of the farmers' cattle, seeds, fodder, as well as farm buildings and enterprises for processing agricultural produce. At the same time the farmer is allowed to use a personal plot (kitchen-garden and orchard) and have milch cows, sheep, goats, pigs (as fixed by the farm's charter), poultry and small farm implements. The farmers retain also the personal ownership of their dwellings.

Collective farmers are owners of the collective farm and all its wealth and yield. Members of the collective farms are in charge of the distribution of produce and property, and direct the co-operatives in keeping with Soviet laws, and in the interests of the State, the collective farm and the farmers. The general meeting of farmers is the supreme management body of collective farm's affairs. It elects a chairman, a management board and an auditing commission.

A modern collective farm is a large-scale mechanised and economically developed enterprise. Each collective farm has

an average of 6,000 hectares of arable land, about half of which is under crops; there is an average of 1,100 head of horned cattle, 600 pigs, 1500 sheep and goats, and an average of 45 tractors (in 15 h.p. units), six harvesters and other machinery and implements. The land that the farmers till is State-owned, that is, public property, although they are actually in charge of it, for it has been assigned to the collective farms for use in perpetuity and free of charge.

Collective farms account for half of all the marketable agricultural produce in Russia.

The private plots of collective farmers, workers and employees in the USSR, some 34 million families, i.e., more than half the country's population, can supplement their table with products from their own private plots.

From the introduction of collectivisation under Stalin, and then under Khrushchev and up to the present, each time when Soviet leaders have been unable to rely purely on the "socialist sector" to guarantee adequate supplies of foodstuffs to the population, they have vigorously propagated the need to develop the private plots of the collective farmers.

Twenty years after Communism took over in East Europe, private farmers still provide from 15 to 40 per cent of the total agricultural output. In Hungary private farmers owning 12 per cent of the arable land, breed 46 per cent of the milch cows, 36 per cent of the pigs and 70 per cent of the poultry, and in 1969 provided more than a quarter of the total agricultural production.

Most East European farmland was collectivised long ago, except in Poland where about 86 per cent of it are still privately owned.

In the other countries, private farms which constitute such an important part of the economy are restricted to allotments which generally vary from 0.72 acre to 1.2 acres. The farmer is supposed to work them only after finishing his day's work.

for the collective, but in practice, of course, they are also worked during the day by old people and by adolescents.

Produce from the plots is basically intended to supply the needs of the farmer and his family, but he is allowed to sell the surplus either to the collective, which pays a fixed price, or in the market place, where he can haggle, as in the old days.

When Mao Tse-tung and his comrades seized power in China in 1949, they had to face the formidable problem of economic construction. Agriculture is the backbone of China's economy. It supplies 40 per cent of raw materials for industry. Eighty per cent of the population reside in the countryside.

The common programme setting forth the aims of the Communist regime of China was adopted on September 29, 1949. Article 27 of the programme reads :

Agrarian reform is a pre-requisite for the development of the productive power and the industrialisation of the countryside.... The right of ownership over the land obtained by the peasants shall be protected.

Article 34 states :

The people's Government.....shall guide the peasants step by step to organise various forms of mutual aid, labour and production co-operation, according to the principl. of free choice and mutual benefit.

In agriculture, Chinese Communists initially began cautiously by confiscating and redistributing landlords' holdings and played down public discussion of collectivising the land.

Indeed, for a number of years mutual aid and co-operative organisations were built in China on the foundation of private ownership. There was no similarity between their organisations and Soviet collective farms.

It was only after the Sino-Soviet split that Mao decided to build up China as the base of struggle for world hegemony

and embarked on the historic mission of transforming the world by means of Mao's thought. To overtake the Soviet Union and to bring China to Communism ahead of schedule, Mao abandoned the Soviet model and in 1958 introduced "great leap" and 'people's communes,' which had its roots in the decision to mobilise labour power on a scale unprecedented in human history. In addition, material incentives were repeatedly condemned by Maoist leaders as a capitalist measure. Attempts were made to substitute political indoctrination for material benefits.

But the Chinese experiment of blending private capitalism with socialism with guaranteed return on the money invested by capitalists has survived even the Mao's Great Cultural Revolution of 1965-68.

On August 29, 1958, the Communist Party of China adopted the following resolution on the establishment of communes.

It said: "In the present circumstances, the establishment of people's communes with all-round management of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations and fishery, where industry (the worker), agriculture (the peasant), exchange (the trader), culture and education (the student) and military affairs (the militiaman) merge into one, is the fundamental policy to guide the peasants to accelerate socialist construction, complete the building of socialism ahead of time and carry out the gradual transition to Communism."

Since then China's economy has suffered repeated and radical changes.

During my tour of mainland China in the year 1954, I was in the company of seven eminent journalists. They were James Cameron (*The News Chronicle*, London); A. de Segonzac (London Editor, *Paris Soir*); Madame Louise Baron (*L. Hummanite*, the well-known Paris Communist daily, founded by the celebrated litterateur and humanist, Henri Barbusse); William Stevenson (*The Toronto Star*, Canada);

Usoedi Buffuello (*Avanti Millano*, Italy); Oswaldo Marquis de Oliveira (Brazil) and Mr. Frederick (*Agence-France*).

We were together touring the industrial areas in north-east China. After visiting the steel city of Anshan and the coal city of Fushan, one evening we were all supping at our hotel in Mukden. Mr. Chen, an official of the Chinese External Affairs Ministry, was one of our interpreters. The dining table was groaning under the load of delicious Chinese dishes, and after frequent cups of Russian vodka, the atmosphere in no time became very friendly and free. We all felt at home there. Stevenson and A. de Segonzac, who had been war prisoners in Germany, began talking about the last Great War. The topic very soon turned to Atom Bomb.

The Chinese interpreter put in: "Knowing well that Japan was collapsing, it was inhuman to kill people on a mass scale by atom bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki". The Canadian friend Stevenson intervened: "You see, when you are in a war, some basic facts are to be taken into account. When you are in the army, you get into a machinery where it is not your will that functions. When you fight a war, it has to be won by any means and any means is good enough if it leads to victory." Stevenson is a believer in the good English adage: "Nothing foul, nothing fair, in love, trade and war."

CHEN replied: But the army are not there to destroy people, they are to protect people. We in China make our army conscious of that. Our army destroy only the effective forces of the enemy.

A. DE SEGONZAC: But our perspective is different. By people we mean our own nation and our own section of the people. Therefore, when we fight a war with an enemy nation, we must fight the war to win it. We can't help using our most effective weapon. It is a total war now. It is no more a man-to-man fight. The Frankenstein you create gets hold of you.

CHEN: We do not believe in God or any supernatural thing, we place man above all. We don't allow any giant weapon or

for the matter of that, any machine to control man. Man must control everything and use it for the ultimate happiness of man.

STEVENSON: We, Canadians, have sympathy for the Chinese people. But it is quite different with Soviet Russia. Communism is out to conquer the whole world. Except in the U.S.A., Communist Party exists in every western country. But there is no party of the western pattern functioning in Soviet Russia.

CHEN: Maybe, your people want that. But Soviet people do not want any party of the western pattern. We believe that revolution cannot be exported. We believe that our system is the best for our country. Your system should be the choice of your own people.

MADAME BARON: It is typical of many westerners to blame Russia for everything. If there was a strike in a factory in France, everyone would blame Stalin as if Stalin by a telephone call had ordered the strike.

JAMES CAMERON: Let us be more frank. You see, in our tour of factories for the last two days, everyone speaking or talking to us appeared as if he or she were speaking from a prepared text. We don't want that. We want to go to villages, meet and talk to common people in the most informal way. We have seen your collective farm in Kaokan village (near Mukden). Peasants want land ownership and not collectivisation. They value property very much. To own their own land is something very precious to them. We understand co-operatives all right, but we can't understand collective farming. We don't believe it has succeeded in the Soviet Union. The peasants there are working under a system, but I don't think, they are happy about it. You should stop it. To deprive peasants of the ownership of land is something too much and is, therefore, naturally opposed by them.

CHEN: The peasants will not allow us to stop now. The peasants are of a stock to whom ideas never sell without concrete results. Experiences in the past have taught them that only distribution of land to the landless cannot help raise the status

of poor peasants and farm labourers. After some time the small private farming system is bound to lead them to the same old vicious circle in which difficulties of the needy peasants for farm tools and draught animals may compel them to sell their land. It will help them only to become landless again. We, of course, respect the ownership of land and the property of the peasant; but our policy is to convert small-scale agricultural economy into large-scale mechanised production. We believe in unified utilisation of lands, rational employment of implements, collective labour and distribution of income according to labour contributed.

STEVENSON: In new China we have been much impressed by the awakening of women. Your marriage law stipulates that husband and wife are not only to love, respect, assist and look after each other but a wife is also to live on the produce of her own labour. Family life helps to build up a healthier and happier society. Parents go out on their own avocations and children are deposited in nurseries or *creches*. Don't you think that career and home are irreconcilable?

CHEN: China's women have fought for long and courageously to emancipate themselves. By the new marriage law they have attained an equal status with men politically, economically and in family life. A smooth course of family life is essential for a healthy social life. Women were victims of untold tragedy and fears in the past because of their economic servitude to men. The marriage law increases the family's labour power and wealth. Nurseries help our children to grow into a healthy generation. A compromise has been inevitable, but as a result, man and wife have now a happy, harmonious and useful life.

A. DE SEGONZAC: Well, Mr. interpreter, can't you spare some living space for the fugitive Chiang Kai-shek? Why do you want to invade Formosa?

CHEN: Taiwan (Chinese name for Formosa) is ours. It is wrong to suggest that we want to invade it. The Chiang Kai-shek gang is in conspiracy with the U.S.A. and is preparing for invasion of our mainland. Chiang is encouraged to bomb our

territory, but we can't neutralise the island just because the U.S.A. warns that this will involve us into hostilities with that country. It is a new menace to our freedom and world peace. We must liberate Taiwan.

Portuguese navigators first discovered Taiwan. They named it Formosa (beautiful island) because of its beautiful landscape and luxuriant vegetation. In Chinese history the island—just 90 miles wide and 240 miles long—is known by many names and was called Taiwan in the second half of the 17th century. About 97 per cent of the present population of the island are Chinese whose ancestors migrated from Fukien and Kwangtung provinces on the mainland. The other three per cent are 240,000 members of the Kaoshan national minority, descendants of the people of Malay stock.

Taiwan's fertile western plain below the mountains yields rich harvests of rice, sugarcane, pineapples and bananas. A valley on the north-west is famous for its tea. More than three-fifths of the entire island are covered by forests which produce among other things 70 per cent of world's camphor and camphor oil.

Early in the 17th century, the gun-boats of the European maritime powers started intruding upon the lives of the people in the Pacific. A Spanish force arrived in north-eastern Taiwan from the Philippines in 1626 and reigned there for 16 years. In the mean time the Dutch established themselves in southern Taiwan in 1624 and driving out the Spaniards remained there for 38 years. In 1662 a national hero named Cheng Chen-kung forced the Dutch to evacuate. In 1689 Taiwan became an administrative unit of the Manchu empire.

Japan, a comparatively late comer to the imperialist table, grabbed the island as a result of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. During the Second World War, the allied powers decided to right the wrong done to the people of Taiwan. The Cairo Declaration of December 1, 1943, signed by the U.S.A., Britain and China declared that all the territories Japan had stolen from the Chinese such as Manchuria, Formosa and the

Poscadores, should be returned to China. The Potsdam Declaration of 1945, which the Soviet Union signed on the eve of its entry into the war against Japan, also recognised that these territories should be restored to China. As a matter of fact, it was on this basis of the recognition that Taiwan is claimed as a Chinese territory. The island was taken over on October 25, 1945, by the KMT Government which was the Government of China at the time. When the Chiang Kai-shek regime was overthrown on the mainland in 1949, the U.S.A. evacuated Chiang and the remnants of his army to this island.

Inscrutable are the ways of politicians, more so are those of Communist China. When the world was fast asleep, at 2 a.m. on October 11, 1954, journalists living in the Press Club of Peking were knocked out of their slumber and urgently summoned to the Foreign Ministry office of the People's Republic to collect an important statement to be released by the Foreign Minister, Chou En-lai. A strange choice of time for a treat like this!

James Cameron, Stevenson and others who were in high spirits at the supper table loaded with Chinese drinks were found sleeping like logs and no amount of human effort could keep them awake when our cars sped through the brightly lit roads,—trim and neat—to the office of the Foreign Minister. The statement was the text of a cable sent by Chou En-lai to the 9th session of the United Nations General Assembly, accusing the United States of armed aggression against the Chinese territory of Taiwan. He urged the United Nations to "fling upon the United States to withdraw its armed forces and military personnel from that island which belonged to China."

Next morning the European journalists asked me whether it was not a nightmare. I replied, "Yes, Taiwan is a nightmare for all peace-loving people."

Of all the Chinese leaders I met and saw, Chou En-lai appeared to me to be the most charming diplomat with a keen sense of humour. He would not only roar before the mike, but also roar with laughter. He would often try to talk to Nehru in English, but would soon fumble for words and ask the interpreter to come to his rescue. But he speaks excellent French.

His sense of humour was best seen in the following example. At a party given by him to the delegates of India-China Friendship Association, an Indian lady asked Chou En-lai to tell them the secret of the perennial youth of the women of China. The Premier referred the question to a Chinese lady whom he described as quite graceful and youthful in spite of her being a mother of six children. The lady got up and in a speech eulogised Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, whose leadership, she said, had opened up a new perspective for the human desire to live in peace and happiness. But at this Mr. Chou En-lai intervened, "Madam, your speech smacks too much of politics." Turning to the Indian lady he said, "Maybe, the lady is too shy to give out the secret of her youth in the presence of men. I, therefore, propose a private meeting between the two ladies concerned."

Chou En-lai told the Indian visitors that China was backward and would welcome any suggestion from friends to improve things. One day at a party at his residence he wanted his guests to give out frankly their impression of China. We were talking nice things but suddenly a serio-comic situation arose. One from among the Indians got up, pulled a long face and declared in all seriousness that he had two very grave charges to make against the Chinese people. All were naturally taken aback at the unexpected turn in this otherwise pleasant *tete-a-tete*. Anyway, formulating his charges, the accuser said that after entering this great land he had lost freedom to walk and freedom not to overeat. Otherwise, toning down a little, he admitted that the thrill of a new life in China had inspired them all. A hero of many wordy duels as he was, Chou En-lai could not accept the challenge. The charges were so obvious that he could not but own them and make a complete surrender.

He said, "Yes, I restore your freedom to walk in North Lake Park where the landscape and ancient monuments will offer their charm and unfold their harmonies of nature. I also issue direction to spare our esteemed guests force-feeding. But I do not accept your praise for China. Either you are too modest to tell us of our shortcomings of which we have many or our black spots have been kept hidden from your eyes."

We had another occasion for exhilaration over the expression "freedom" when we first arrived at Press Club, the newly-built residence in Peking for journalists from abroad. Besides our hosts, a group of Indonesian journalists was also there to greet us. The Indonesian group included one Buddhist and two Muslim journalists. We soon discovered many common traits in the cultures and languages of India and Indonesia and we easily developed warm friendship between us. They could speak only broken English. As they had arrived a few days earlier, we were naturally eager to be forearmed with their experience for what it was worth. So at our dinner table, we asked them about their impression of China. "Ah," one of them sighed, "In China, no freedom, no mosque." We asked our Indonesian friends to explain their quip. They elaborated: "In this country, there is no freedom to steal, no freedom to pick pocket, not even to beg."

Premier Chou En-lai highly praised India's architecture and historical monuments. This makes me recall a very interesting conversation I had one night with a woman journalist at Shanghai. It was Sunday, October 31. We had returned after a trip to Hangchow, a great beauty spot of China, which is comparable to Kashmir in India. We spent practically the whole day there boating in the West Lake which again may be compared with the Dal Lake of Kashmir. We came back to Shanghai late in the evening and were tired. But I could not resist the temptation to visit an opera at one of the local theatres very close to our hotel, particularly when the offer to shepherd me came from a woman journalist. Beside me there was a group of Soviet journalists present at the show. During our sojourn in China we were rarely together with Soviet journalists at any function.

We were witnessing an interesting scene. Two modern Eves were confiding their love romances by the language of eyes and fingers, accompanied with pastoral songs. Full of fun and humour, it was a battle of wits between the two maidens, smitten with love, each portraying her lover better than the other's. But the climax came when one of them drove the other to desperation by telling "Ah! what a pity. Your lover has asked you to

wait till the next harvest before he can marry you. But my boy is very impatient. He proposes to marry me right next month. So, by the time you will marry"—she paused for a moment in shyness, and then broke out—"a child of our love will bloom forth in my lap like a lovely flower." But at this stage the lovers were scared out of their wit by the sudden fall of an old man in front of them, from a nearby tree which he had earlier climbed to keep watch on his field.

An interval followed.

The woman journalist asked me if our boys and girls made love in similar ways. I told her that marriages are generally arranged by parents in our country. She said Chairman Mao had delivered them from the social shackles of such archaic customs. She also confided to me that she had married only recently. She was amused to learn that in my State women wear conch-shell bangles, cover their head with a veil and use vermilion mark on their temple at the parting of hair as a sign of being married. She was also surprised to learn that of this cosmetic, the Chinese variety is the most popular among our women. She enquired whether Madame Gandhi (meaning Nehru's daughter Indira) also bore the stamp of man's tutelage in the same way. But as the better part of valour, I discreetly preferred not to argue the point with my charming hostess. Whether or not it is a bondage of slavery for them, let our Indian women fight out the issue with their emancipated Chinese sisters. I, however, mildly warned her that to protect her state of matrimony from any possible aggression some such mark was necessary as its absence might land her in an embarrassing situation any day. Because, what safeguard was there against her adorable hand being claimed again unwittingly by some gallant, smitten with "love at first sight"? At this compliment to her youth and beauty, her face beamed with joy and she burst into laughter.

She then asked me how I enjoyed my trip to Hangchow. I admired Hangchow's scenic beauty and its historic Buddhist caves and monuments. I proudly referred her to the Tse Lai Peak in Hangchow, a mountain, which, according to Chinese tradition, was flown from India to China. "Yes," she replied,

"these are the ancient ties between our two countries. Our Prime Minister Chou En-lai on return from India highly admired the architectural beauties of India." She made mention of the Taj in this connection.

In the context of the love-scene we had been witnessing, I told her that the Taj Mahal has immortalised a great love—that of a Mughul Emperor for his deceased consort. She replied, "I would rather say it shows the skill of workers of ancient India in her pristine glory. It immortalises the tears and toils of workers exploited for the pomp and glory of a ruthless ruler. We, in China, have returned all the ancient historical places to the workers by turning them into rest houses and cultural centres for them."

The revolutionary evaluation of cultural heritage was a matter of paramount importance in moulding the new man in China.

Although it was after a decade, I was happy when accompanied by my wife, I had a chance of visiting Taiwan in May 1966, as a guest of the Republic of China.

From the air we found the island which is shaped like a corn indescribably beautiful. From the valleys surrounding the towering central range of mountains to the white skirt of the beaches, fertile fields cover the entire length of the seaboard. Although only 24 per cent of the land is arable, the local people are among the best fed in Asia and export of agricultural products contributes substantially to foreign exchange earnings.

One of the greatest statesmen of China, Chiang Kai-shek, is the man of destiny of this Republic. He is the Colossus standing astride Taiwan and defying every endeavour of the Communists to dislodge him. President Chiang has remained at China's helm for long 50 years.

We were present at the colourful ceremony at which he was inaugurated on May 20, 1966, for his fourth term as President. He fought in the Revolution of 1911 and became Dr. Sun Yat

Sen's trusted lieutenant. It was his leadership that inspired China to resist the military might of Japan for 14 years—eight of them in hot war. Chiang has fought Communism longer and harder than any other world statesman.

This is the man—the only surviving member of the World War II's Big Three, who met Churchill and Roosevelt in Cairo,—Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru in Calcutta. He has known many victories and setbacks in life, but was never dispirited. Stress and strain has left his serenity undisturbed even now, at the age of 82. His health is good, he works long hours and lives an austere life.

Wearing a loose-fitting, comfortable, traditional Chinese long gown, at the inauguration he pledged to “start the angry tide of an offensive that soon will destroy Communist tyranny” on the mainland.

This pledge is only a reflection of the feeling of the Chinese in Taiwan who firmly believe with very good reason that time is fast approaching when the Red regime in the mainland will collapse. They want the ‘imminent internal revolt’ there to synchronise with invasion.

Their belief is based on statements of refugees from the mainland, many of whom we met both in Hong Kong and Taipeh, which reveal the following state of things there:

- * A sense of terror sweeping the length and breadth of the country.

- * The reduction of the huge rural population to a state of abject serfdom.

- * Ruthless meddling with marriage and total shattering of home life.

- * Communist espionage which has inexorably destroyed the happy husband-wife, father-son and neighbourly relations.

The people are forced to attend nightly meetings during which they are forced to criticise one another “to weed out bad elements and reactionaries.” Friends, neighbours and rela-

tives are made to criticise each other and even children are forced to spy upon and report against their parents. Time and again the people are told that those who do not follow Mao wholeheartedly and disregard even a single one of Mao's directives are following the wrong path and would be exposed and denounced.

* Complete abolition of personal property rights. "Now the people do not even own a broom," a refugee woman said.

* Total absence of freedom of expression and movement. Too many controls have become suffocating to the people.

This catalogue is by no means exhaustive, let alone complete. When I visited mainland China in 1954, I felt that Communists would remain contented by liquidating feudalism and redistributing land to tillers. Mao Tse-tung also promised that "the land would be divided giving a fair share to the peasants", who form 80 per cent of the population. But that turned out to be an illusory phase of his land reform.

The introduction of communes in 1958, when all the means of production of individual households and families were communised, exposed the true character of this reform. For meals were now eaten only communally in mess halls ; children, robbed of parental love, were sent to nurseries and kindergartens to sing as they collect basketful of manure.

*With my little basket
On my shoulder everyday—
Going to school or tending sheep.
Looking round me as I walk
Missing no cow's or goat's manure
Singing and collecting the precious
Droppings in my basket.*

The instance of "no idlers at home" has driven women to work in field and factories. Working in places distant from each other, a husband and wife are seldom allowed to meet ; thus there is disruption in conjugal life.

*Working overtime in the day ;
Taking the night as the day
Spirit unsubmissive to storms and rains*

—the women have neither the time nor the energy to care for their children. Chairman Mao indeed replaces the family, the emotional instincts of children towards their parents being channelled into love and admiration for Mao.

*Mao is more intimate than our parents.
In bringing us up to maturity ;
Firmly we follow the thoughts of Mao
And hasten to obey his commands.*

At the outset, the Communist leadership branded the traditional family system as “feudal” and wanted to destroy completely “feudal loyalties, customs and beliefs.”

Having apparently failed, no longer are their exhortations for the destruction of the family as a unit by separating men, women, children and the elderly.

Instead the latest movement is to “revolutionise the family.” The revolutionisation of families means that Mao Tse-tung’s thought should dominate every family with indoctrination sessions and “struggle-criticism” meetings.

Under the educational scheme of half-study and half-work, children in China must devote at least half of their time to physical labour. According to age, nursery tots collect manure and primary school children concentrate principally on afforestation, aid to agriculture and elimination of four pests (flies, mosquitos, rats and sparrows).

Intellectuals who formerly supported Communists are now being sent to the countryside for physical labour. They have turned against the regime. This has resulted in large-scale liquidation of writers and other intellectuals.

Jobs and promotions are dependent on loyalty to Chairman Mao. As one has to live on the produce of his own labour, the

regime can easily get rid of its opponents by throwing them out of jobs on to the streets.

In community kitchens, rice soup, and not rice, is served. Bean products and sweet potatoes take the place, in part, of rice. People are forced to accept the food shortage with equanimity and fortitude by blaming USA-Soviet conspiracy for the calamity and promising a glorious future ahead.

People now firmly believe that the paradise the Communists promised will never come into being. The farmers will continue to be fleeced, the working class exploited and intellectuals oppressed to perpetuate, not a Communist State ruled by a "proletarian dictatorship" as prescribed by Marx, but perpetually by the Communist party made up of the "Founding father" Mao and his favourites.

As an offensive against the Chinese traditional belief of respect for the graves of ancestors, old burial grounds are being turned into building sites and bones of exhumed dead are being used as fertilisers. Paying respect to the dead is regarded as "superstition" and so a major offence in China.

A production team in Honan Province smashed more than 13,000 religious images and Buddhas were called mere "heaps of clay."

Many Buddhist images and ritual objects made of precious metals taken by the Chinese from Tibet have found their way to refineries in China. There they have been melted down and converted into bullion.

Other religious objects and images of less intrinsic value which have escaped destruction have found their way to Chinese stores handling antiques and curios in Hong Kong.

While aggressively promoting atheism, they are, however, trying to invest "Maoism" with a kind of religious faith and fervour. These efforts to deify Mao and give his works the force of divine revelation are indeed very funny in this 20th century.

According to eye-witness reports from the Kwangtung Province bordering Hong Kong, mass "purification trials" are held there almost daily. They are attended by all commune members from the age of 10.

One peasant was sentenced to 15 years' "reform through labour" for defacing the portrait of Chairman Mao. He pleaded that he used rice paste to fix the picture on the wall and a cockroach nibbled at the picture through eating the paste.

Another peasant was given 10 years' for allowing his three-year-old to set his hands on "the picture". The child tore it up.

A farmer was sentenced to 15 years' because his wife "humiliated Chairman Mao by using his picture to put under the hen to roost."

Considering these punishments, another farmer got off lightly. He paraphrased a Mao slogan thus "Fear no sacrifice, overcome all difficulties and swim to Hong Kong." He got only 10 years'.

A primary teacher described an incident when she was leading her class of 10-year-olds across a bridge. A girl pupil accidentally dropped her book of Mao quotations into the river and the other children wanted it retrieved. Fearing a mishap, however, the teacher told them to forget it.

But two boys tore off their clothes, jumped into the water and swam to save the book. "When they came ashore, holding high the bright, Red Book," the teacher said: "I felt both respect for them and shame for myself."

The little Red Book of Mao quotations came into circulation in mid-1965 as a part of the mass education campaign.

Foreigners in China are not subject to quite the same pressures to venerate Mao but they find it difficult to escape from his idolatry. A problem for them is how to dispose of Chinese publications carrying a portrait or medallion-type profile of Mao.

Visitors who throw a magazine or official handout into their

waste paper baskets at hotels or offices find them placed back on desks or tables by offended—or fearful—Chinese employees.

The launching of China's first earth satellite was also claimed as a "great victory for Mao's thought."

Not only that, problems, however old, big or difficult, could be solved by the application of Mao's thought. "With Mao Tse-tung's thought," they can transform consciousness into material force and perform any miracle.

Another significant development in Communist China was reported to us by a refugee who was himself a Communist cadre in charge of a production team. Overdone militancy has become subject to the law of diminishing returns. Privileged classes have emerged even in Communist China. High-ranking cadres and influential Government officials, Liberation Army people perhaps naturally expect and get preferential treatment and are better fed. Their children, arrogant in the assumption of privilege, are responsible for much of juvenile delinquency, street rowdyism and crimes of robbery with violence.

Young men all over the world are difficult to harness. This problem has been one of the major headaches for Mao Tse-tung.

Some 105 Chinese were publicly tried and convicted of murder, rape, assault and robbery before a crowd of 9,000 at Peking Stadium. Eleven of them were sentenced to death and executed immediately. At the same stadium a month earlier, a 24-year-old youth was executed for killing a girl student. Over 25,000 spectators were present to determine his guilt.

Formation of favourable mass opinion is an essential element in the operation of Communist parties.

In order to enlist mass support for the party objectives, the Communist cadres organise each segment of the population around their grievances. Appropriate slogans are selected to heighten their emotions and prejudices.

A vague feeling of commonness of the cause, low degree of collective intelligence, high suggestibility and a sense of omnipotence make the workers as a group an easy prey to the manipulations of a skilful Communist orator.

In China, Mao calls it "Mass Line" theory which means that the masses must participate in all decisions, including trial of persons, while the party will play the "leading role" The "Mass Line" is a synthesis of pre-determined party policy and mass action.

Underlying the drive against crime, an editorial published jointly in the *People's Daily*, *Red Flag* and *Liberation Army Daily* quoted a statement by Mao stressing that it "is necessary to exercise dictatorship over embezzlers, swindlers, arsonists, murderers, criminal gangs and other scoundrels who disrupt public order."

More disturbing to the Mao regime is the widespread apathy among workers, peasants, students, officials and even soldiers, who are exhausted by years of political pressure. In many factories, workers have been putting forth demands for higher wages and better labour conditions. These demands have been rejected as a symptom of "economism", which the Maoists consider to be a pro-capitalist disease.

As a result of Sino-Soviet feud, a large part of the Chinese Army are being sent out to the frontier with the Soviet Union. The Chinese in Taiwan believe that this will weaken Mao's hold within the country and will open the opportunity for the opposition group to rally round deposed President Liu Shao-chi again.

But there is no expression of official American sympathy with any movement among the Chinese people to free themselves from cruel Red exploitation nor any encouragement of President Chiang's pledge of a massive "counter-attack" from Taiwan.

An investment of more than \$2 billion by the United States for the island's defence since May 1, 1951, has created a military

structure in Taiwan which has proved the most powerful deterrent. In October 1958, some 20,000 Red amphibious troops attempted to take the offshore island of Quemoy, 150 miles west of Taiwan. At the nearest point, it is only a mile and a half from the Communist mainland of Fukien province. We visited the Fortress island, also called Kinmen comprising an area of four square miles.

Quemoy is considered to be the world's strongest fortress; there is little visual evidence that the island is an impregnable fortress manned by thousands of highly trained Nationalist troops. They live in quarters blasted out of the rocky hills, connected by underground channels. Broad beaches, bordered by tidal flats of sticky mud, ring the island.

Except for one area used by ships and the fishing fleet, all the beaches are heavily mined and bristle with barbed wire. Over them sentries keep constant watch and trained on this sole invasion route are batteries of artillery in rock and cement emplacements.

Also excavated out of a hill are the Quemoy Defence headquarters with conference rooms and staff quarters where 4,000 men live. Connecting passages 15 feet wide and 6,000 yards long have 12 entrances and can defy even an atom bomb. No serious attempt has been made by Red China to mount an attack against Taiwan since 1958.

Nor has the U.S.A. encouraged any counter-attack. Americans rather now argue that Peking is wo any of conciliatory diplomatic approach.

I found deep frustration among a section of Taiwan leaders for this rethinking in the U.S.A. In their opinion, the shift in US policy may seriously undermine the political and economic security of the Far East. They recall how as a result of a similar mistake of the U.S.A. in the past, the Communist State of China was created in the post-World War confusion.

At the Cairo conference, Chiang was assured that after the Allied victory Chinese territory occupied by the Japanese would

be restored to the Chiang Kai-shek Government. But at Yalta, behind the back of Chiang, the Big Two made a gift of Manchuria to Stalin in a secret deal. Stalin after occupying Manchuria turned it over to Mao and his Communist Party along with the captured Japanese areas. Not only that, the U.S.A. which now calls Mao a despicable aggressor, considered Stalin a monster and Mao only an agrarian reformer, and pressed Chiang hard to form a coalition government with him as a condition for receiving any further U.S. aid. The promised aid never came and Chiang's resistance to Communism on the mainland collapsed in 1949.

Soon after his first election to the United States Congress, John F. Kennedy, in 1949, became alarmed at what was then happening in China. In a speech on January 30 of that year, the future President of the U.S.A. observed:

Our relation with China since the end of the Second World War has been a tragic one, and it is of the utmost importance that we search out and spotlight those who must take the responsibility for our present predicament During the (post-war) period began the great split in the minds of our diplomats over whether to support the Government of Chiang Kai-shek, or force Chiang Kai-shek, as the price of our assistance, to bring Chinese Communists into his Government to form a coalition. . . . our policy in China has reaped the whirlwind. The continued insistence that aid would not be forthcoming unless a coalition government with the Communists was formed was a crippling blow to the National Government. So concerned were our diplomats and their advisers, the Lattimores and the Fairbanks, with their imperfections of the diplomatic system in China . . . and the tales of corruption in high places, that they lost sight of our tremendous stake in a non-Communist China This is the tragic story of China whose freedom we once fought to preserve; what our young men had saved, our diplomats and our President have frittered away.

At that time many Americans particularly the Government leaders had fallen victim to the pro-Communist propaganda of

the Institute of Pacific Relations, a research organisation which included eminent scholars like Professor Owen Lattimore of Johns Hopkins University and Professor John K. Fairbank of Harvard.

For 12 long years they and other fellow-travellers posing as Far-Eastern experts dished out anti-Chiang writings and conditioned the people of America and their naive leadership to the coming of communism in China.

The 1,506-page volume of secret US documents made public on August 3, 1969, disclosed confidential communication by American diplomats and leaders with China in the critical last year of the Pacific war.

They covered the stormy resignation of Mr. Patrice Hurley as the U.S. Ambassador to China, the Marshall Mission to China in an effort to unify the country and its armed forces under a coalition with the Communists, and the delicate relations between China and the Soviet Union as a result of the Russian occupation of Manchuria. The directive to Marshall from President Truman instructed him to keep secret the fact that the US army and Navy were being authorised to transfer the armies of General Chiang Kai-shek to Manchuria to provide logistics for the evacuation of the Japanese force to their homeland.

The instructions said this information was to be withheld "for the purpose of bringing influence to bear on the Generalissimo and the Communist leaders for the termination of hostilities and the development of a broad unified Chinese Government."

Marshall said it was his understanding then that he "would do his best to influence the Generalissimo to make reasonable concessions in his negotiations with the democratic and Communist leaders, holding in abeyance the information that his government was actually preparing shipping to assist Chiang in moving his troops into North China."

It will not be wrong to say that American President Roosevelt joined hands with Stalin to prevent restoration of the

European allies' imperialist status in the South-East Asia. Americans also became tools of Communism when they helped the Viet Minh against the French in the first Indo-China war—and withdrew timely assistance to Chiang Kai-shek to pressurise him to coalesce with Mao Tse-tung.

Now again the United States will take advantage of the Sino-Soviet differences for establishing some kind of working relations with China and the Warsaw dialogue between the Chinese and American representatives may dash Chiang Kai-shek's hope of recovery of the mainland for ever. Re-appraisal of China policy has gained momentum as a result of Nixon's election as the thirty-seventh President of the U.S.A. Also, Peking and Moscow each has an eye on improving relations with Washington.

"During the final third of the twentieth century," President Nixon said in a speech, "Asia, not Europe or Latin America, will pose the greatest danger of confrontation which could escalate into a third world war." "The world cannot be safe until China changes," he added.

The U.S.A. will not, of course, gang up with China against the Soviet Union, for her relations with the other super-power are of primary importance.

The United States is for the status quo of the world. The Soviet Union and People's Republic of China are revolutionary powers who aim at the destruction of the "citadel" of capitalism—the U.S.A. America, in order to avoid fighting Communist powers on her own shore, has intervened in Vietnam and Cambodia and extended material support to Israel in West Asia.

In Europe there is a balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union. The situation in Asia is different and complicated.

Mao's China, which has now acquired nuclear striking power, has adopted a policy of antagonism not only towards the United States but also towards the Soviet Union and as a third super-power, claims her sphere of influence.

The Nixon doctrine for Asia reaffirms the U.S. treaty commitments and determination to offer a shield against nuclear powers, but declares that other nations are expected to assume the primary responsibility for furnishing the man-power needed for their own defence.

But the most startling feature of the Cambodian War, Peking and Moscow find themselves supporting different sides. In by far the fiercest attack of China's Policy in Asia so far, the Soviet Union said, "China's interference in Cambodia's affairs was one of the factors inciting Right wing forces in Cambodia to commit a *coup d'etat* and seek closer relations with imperialists."

Mao will rule Asia, if not the whole world, but, it seems, he does not want to risk a major conflagration with the U.S.A. China did not provoke a direct confrontation with the U.S.A. on the Taiwan issue and withdrew unilaterally from India for fear of the U.S. intervention.

China called the U.S.A. a paper tiger and wanted to provoke Moscow to start a nuclear war with her, a development which the Soviet Union was averse to. Having failed in it, China now wants either the U.S.A. to withdraw from Asia or pin her to a protracted war that will bleed her and at the same time create unrest within America.

The U.S.-Chinese talks at Warsaw, postponed abruptly by Peking with the escalation of Indo-China war, were meant probably to find how far the Americans would continue to restrain Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan in the event of a war with Russia. Peking will not want to fight on two fronts, and is concerned about Chiang's half a million troops facing her south-east coast. Any U.S. understanding with China will adversely affect the three million Chinese in Taiwan, who have waited in vain for return to mainland China.

There was urgency of the recovery of the mainland, I was told, because of the emotional crisis through which many Chinese in Taiwan have been passing. While escaping from Red tyranny, many of them were unable to get their wives, sons, mothers,

daughters and other near relations across. The pang of long separation (sometimes 20 years) is growing acute. The only relief, which ironically benefits Peking, is that these refugees as well as overseas Chinese are allowed by the Reds to make remittances to their near and dear ones at "home" and this means the much-needed foreign exchange for the Red Government. As an encouragement to getting more foreign exchange in this manner, recipients of remittances are supplied additional food-stuff. As for Red China's foreign exchange supply, she has another very profitable source. Consumer goods of the highest excellence, made on the mainland but not on sale there, are sold at cheaper prices through numerous fashionable shops opened by them at Hong Kong. The Russians have taunted Peking in the past for allowing the colony with a predominantly Chinese population to exist on its doorstep and to trade with the American "imperialists".

Red China is already locked in a bitter struggle with the Soviet Union and has developed an intense hatred towards it.

The Chinese charges against the USSR are:

*The Soviet Union joined hands with Right-wing Indonesian generals who were in the pay of the U.S. Intelligence to massacre Indonesian Communists.

Slightly more than four years ago the Indonesian Communist movement was at the peak of its influence. The only impediment thwarting the grand design of Sukarno and the late D. N. Aidit, the PKI leader, to transform the Republic of Indonesia into a Communist regime, was the army general staff.

On the night of September 30-October 1, 1965, an Aidit-Sukarno putsch against the general staff, in which six senior field grade officers were murdered, misfired. As a consequence, Sukarno was deposed (he is now under house arrest) and the PKI was decimated and driven underground.

* The Soviet Union having allied itself with Japanese militarists was trying to compromise with the German reactionaries in Bonn.

The boundary line between socialism and imperialism is running right through Europe. The European socialist states cover two-thirds of the territory of the European continent. Where the socialist and the capitalist world system geographically meet there exist two states with contrasting social systems—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The GDR and the FRG are also members of the two great power blocs in Europe—the States united under the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO. Russia is seeking accommodation with the allies in Europe to cover “her back” against the growing threat from Communist China.

*The USSR sold off the Congolese people to the imperialists and is trying to sabotage the Vietnam people’s struggle.

*Uniting with the U.S. imperialism and its henchmen, Russian leaders are trying to “form an anti-Chinese ring of encirclement around China.”

In the eye of Red China, the Soviet Union has become as obnoxious as any imperialist power. Cuba, a small Communist country, attacks the Chinese Communists for their stupidities and lack of vision. It equates the Chinese dragon with the U.S. shark and threatens that Cuban sardine will soon dwarf the dragon. The break of China with the USSR and Cuba, which has another parallel in Yugoslavia, shows, travelling from one country to another Communism takes national root and moves in dividing the people ideologically exploiting sectional and deadly antagonism now characterises the Marxist world. Mao believes that after Stalin’s death, the mantle of the world Communist leadership should rightfully pass on to him.

Communism has already successfully divided many a nation—Germany, Korea, Vietnam and China. Now it is a house divided. In other countries the Communist parties are engaged in dividing the people ideologically exploiting sectional and regional grievances and thereby engineering unrest, discontent and chaos.

Communist China has accused the Soviet Union of having “ulterior motives in stepping up its collaboration with the Chiang

Kai-shek bandit gang and working in co-operation with the United States imperialism in a plot to create two Chinas."

In new geography books and maps of Asia published in the Soviet Union, Formosa is described as an independent country. Several Russian newspapers are also referring to Formosa as an independent sovereign state.

With the blessings of the Soviet Union a number of East European countries are seeking rapprochement with the Chinese Nationalist Government in Formosa.

Among these East European countries, Bulgaria has taken the first steps to establish economic and other relations with the Formosa Government.

There are reports that Poland and the Soviet Union are also contemplating to establish trade and cultural relations with the Formosa authorities.

A Formosan delegation visited both Bulgaria and the Soviet Union and, in several African, Asian and European countries where the Formosa Government still maintains embassies, the Soviet diplomats have indicated Moscow's desire to establish trade and cultural relations with Formosa.

In 1969, Soviet journalist Victor Louis visited Formosa and had talks with Ching Kuo, Defence Minister of Formosa and the son of Chiang Kai-shek.

One reason for Soviet interest in Formosa is the use of the island as a "listening post" on mainland China.

The story of Taiwan will be incomplete without a word on its economic progress. Among the different sectors of the economy, its success in agriculture is the most outstanding. In spite of the limited area of arable land, the fact that the output of rice, which is the staple foodstuff of the local people, has increased at a greater rate than the population growth is a decisive proof of its stability. That Taiwan had a surplus of some 250,000 tons of rice for export last year, a period when the whole world, particularly Asia, was facing a food shortage, was

certainly an enviable success. Its food intake averages nearly 2,400 calories daily, the highest in the South-East Asia.

Land reforms, under which land has gone to the tiller have brought about marvellous results. Land prices were calculated on the basis of two-and-a-half times the value of the 1948 crop. Compensation to landowners comprised 70 per cent in land bonds to be paid every six months, and 30 per cent in stocks and shares in four important Government undertakings, such as cement, paper, forestry and mining. Thus landowners have turned industrialists.

As for the tiller, he pays the price of the land in 20 instalments extending over 10 years, and is exempted from land tax till payment is completed.

By modernising agriculture and adopting the intensive method with irrigation, fertilisers and improved seeds arranged for by farmers' organisations with subsidy from the Government, the Taiwan farmer now produces in his field four crops a year. How does he achieve it? By inter-cropping. He sows sweet potato, soya bean, and even jute in the paddy crop 45 days before harvesting it. Forty-five days thus gained give him the fourth crop.

The improved hybrid paddy seed, known as Taichung seed, which he uses among others, has shown equally astonishing results in India—in Burdwan and 24 Paraganas districts, where on experiments 135 maunds of paddy per acre were obtained.

Its farmers, nine-tenths of whom own lands after the land-to-tiller reform, now produce not only enough rice to feed the entire island but also enough for export to many South-East Asian countries.

With a population of 12 million, Taiwan is bigger than many member-States of the U.N. Its standard of living is higher than that of any other country in Asia except Japan.

The Taiwan authorities have also shown commendable ingenuity in their plan for industrial progress.

Between 1951 and 1965, Taiwan received \$ 1.4 billion in aid from the United States. But much of that aid was for military defence, and after 1961 it was primarily loans. The industrial output, rising at the rate of seven per cent a year, has brought about such prosperity that since July 1, 1965, Taiwan voluntarily ended all economic aid from the United States, and by March 1967, over \$ 50 million in interest and principal had been paid.

For all industrial plants, they have indented the most modern machinery only from those countries that have specialised in that particular branch of industry. Their accent is also on getting the most advance technical know-how from the countries that have made the greatest technical progress.

For this they have linked themselves with the most affluent countries of the world—West Germany, the USA and Japan—entirely from practical considerations.

Another striking aspect of this industrial progress is the association of workers with the management and in profit-sharing.

Another feature of Taiwan's development that struck me was the civic progress of Taipeh and other towns. They are remarkably clean, and every building has its own architectural characteristics—Chinese, Japanese and American.

What made this development possible was the Government's sincere desire for setting up ideal towns. In December 1949, Chiang Kai-shek landed on Taiwan with 500,000 worn-out soldiers and a million refugees. The rush of refugees pushed up prices of land in cities and towns. The Government, taking the 1948 prices as the basis, collected the extra amounts earned by landlords from the sale of lands as a tax for town development and amenities for the people.

Taiwan despite being in a state of almost perpetual emergency strikes one as an island of plenty and tranquillity.

8

THE GIANT
AT
THE DOOR

Tolstoy described China as a highly organised swarm that remains quiet as long as it stays in its old hive. Once the time to change comes the swarm becomes highly agitated and is ready to fall on any passer-by and sting him half to death without any special reason.

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Kautilya says that a state on the frontier of a country is always its enemy. The "friendly" state is one that is on the frontier of the enemy state.

India and China are separated by the mighty Himalayas. But for the early period of history when adventurous Buddhist pilgrims crossed and recrossed the border, the two countries had little to do with each other. Many well-known tribes, devotees of Buddhism, have been living on the Himalayan heights from time immemorial. Self-sufficient small groups, they have been carrying on their peaceful avocations, unafflicted by problems of logistics or defence.

Then came the Chinese and Pakistani invasions. Problems of peace and security for them and the rest of India necessitated stationing of troops at heights never heard of before in India's history. Snowy blizzards, spine-chilling cold, hazards of frost-bite, lack of oxygen, coupled with problems of communication and supplies, created an unprecedented situation for the Indian defence.

Donned in military attire, I jumped off the army jonga on December 6, 1969, and set foot on the 14,000 feet high Se La of snow and ice to get a closer look at our Army's preparedness and morale. It was in this Kameng sector that the Indian Army suffered serious reverses in the hands of the Chinese.

I was far away from civilisation. I spent the previous night in sleeping bags at an acclimatisation camp on a height of 9,000 feet where we journalists huddled into small rooms, sanitary facilities of which were hardly befitting civilian.

It was said that during the Sino-Indian war even at the height of 7,000 feet the Army officers wanted hot water baths and commodes which the jawans were required to carry for them.

I found Se La, in snow blizzards and piercing winds, was no place for idle fun.

Seven years ago China outraged the snow-white serenity of this place when the most inhospitable terrain, inclement weather and the height took a heavy toll of Indian troops. And at that

peak, where the land is otherwise forsaken, we found our jawans in fine spirits. They are outfitted both morally and physically to defend our frontiers from the Chinese or whatever other hordes of aggressors that may intrude into our northern labyrinth.

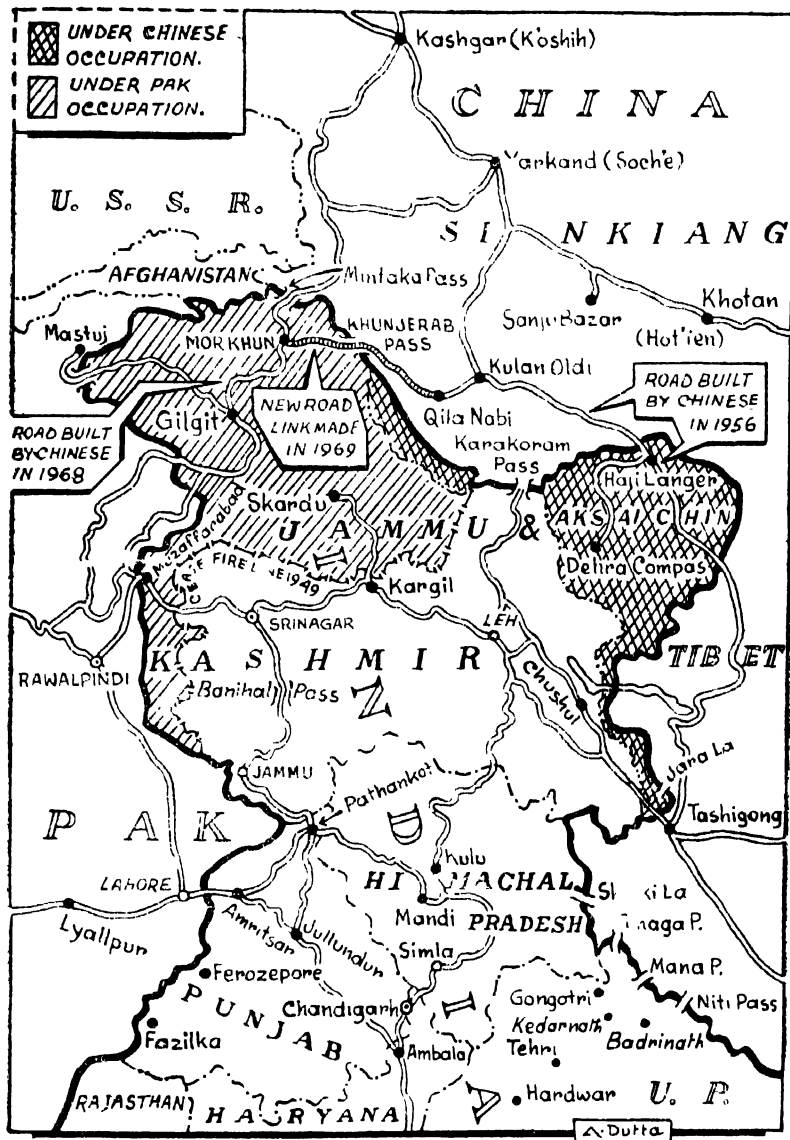
Same faces, same landscape, except for a short while, when the people from lower regions come to replenish supplies, the jawans and the officers are very lonely, far away from their families and society.

We had an idea of mountain warfare when in a "battle inoculations", infantrymen simulated all the conditions of a high hill operation against an assumed Chinese target using machine-guns and hand-grenades and displaying all the uphill manoeuvres.

I saw a heavy artillery demonstration when directed from an observation post firing was concentrated on a distant enemy target behind the battle line.

At the headquarters of the GOC, I stood among others, listening to the hum of the river flowing by, smelling the faint fragrance of fiftynine genres of roses and an orchidium, containing sixty kinds of exotic NEFA varieties—raised by the GOC Sankar Nair, who has named his forward area abode "Kailash".

It was impossible to restrain the exaltation when I saw how a soldier-general lived in peace with himself, his men and his environment. Along the undulated hills and dales — thanks to the Border Road Task Force — we traversed a network of good roads from the foothills of Tezpur to the peaks. Defending the 9,500 miles long frontiers of India is the primary duty of our jawans. Unflinching, resolute and dauntless, they stand steadfast, braving the dangers of a variety of terrain and the inclemencies of weather. The border with China alone is over 2,400 miles along the Himalayan ranges separating Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and the North-East Frontier Agency from Sinkiang and Tibet regions of China.



Apart from that with China, there is the 470 miles long border with Pakistan—the cease-fire line running through the state of Jammu and Kashmir, coming down from the snow-capped peaks of Kashmir through deep gorges and dense forests to the rocks and plains of Jammu, cut up with numerous nullahs and marshy tracts. The jawans guard these borders with buoyant cheerfulness as sentinels of the Republic, properly fed, housed, clothed and equipped.

Professor C. P. Fitzgerald observed that China never had any conception of equals or allies, but only tributaries and enemies. If so, whether our frontier with China will ever be a stable frontier is questionable.

Firmness without requisite preparedness turned out to be worse for us at the first touch of war with the Chinese.

Prime Minister Nehru playing more to the gallery than speaking from a position of strength said on October 12, 1962, the armed forces had been ordered to throw the Chinese out of NEFA. This culminated in a massive attack by China on NEFA on October 20, 1962. Brigadier J. P. Dalvi's *Himalayan Blunder* records that the Chinese were deeply offended and extremely angry. He quotes one Chinese officer as saying, "The Americans cannot throw us out, what can you miserable Indians do to us? How dare you talk like this about the mighty Chinese people?"

The Chinese decided to cut Nehru and India to size which they did.

The image of India faded out of its glory when the Chinese dealt an easy blow to our defence forces and sent them staggering down the slopes of Se La and other hills.

The plight of the Indian Army became the cause of certain popular *idicules at the time. I had an occasion to hear one such from the Indian linguist and National Professor, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, who constructed the abbreviation of Indian Defence Force—I.D.F.—to mean "I Don't Fight."

"We are determined to shore up the prestige of our Motherland, our nation", said a jawan to us at a high altitude post, itching, as it were, for an encounter with the invading Chinese. But there is no event, nothing much to scare us from the Chinese side.

The situation in India-China border has some similarity and, therefore, is fraught with equal danger as the Indo-China border situation.

The frontier between Cambodia and South Vietnam, which the Americans crossed on April 30, 1970, was disputable because the area was under North Vietnamese military control and on the Cambodian side of it the Cambodian Government could not enforce its writ. These sanctuaries in eastern Cambodia brought Communists near to Saigon from where they could attack with heavy impact wherever they liked.

Living on this side of MacMahon line, the loyalty that the local people had towards India because it represented a strong force during the British period, suffered when they saw India being defeated by the Chinese. They have lost faith in the capacity of India to protect them and the borders. They have now a double mind and following the first law of survival fear to side with us. Militarily the Chinese position in relation to India is one of masters. So long as the ideological war will operate in their favour and there is no attempt on our part to recover the areas they are now in possession, China will not provoke another war with India.

Ever since the cease-fire of 1962, Red China has been aiming at ideological penetration and has mounted its tactics of sabotage to win over the NEFA people to their side by launching an intensive propaganda against India. In recent months, the Mompas handed over to the Army authorities about 750 Mao badges and Red Books, distributed by the Chinese during the grazing season, when contacts were made possible across the frontier. During the months from April to September, Tibetans used to come to the Tawang area with their cattle for grazing. The Mompas also used to go to the Tibetan side for trade.

The Army, the civil administration and the Border intelligence teams are all working in close co-operation to prevent border crossings. Yet, a total check in that high border region is not practicable. For, no Indian guards are actually mounted along the uneven MacMahon Line, they are several kilometres down the border.

The Northern borderland is so extensive that it is well-nigh impossible to post military or police personnel at every point along it. It is imperative that the Government should embark on colonising the very sparsely populated area, selecting people from other regions taking into account altitude and topography. The colonists would be able to detect intrusions by the Chinese if and when they take place and report them to the Government.

The Chinese Communists overran the whole of the Aksai Chin area of Ladakh in 1957; and there was not a soul there who could report the Chinese aggression. The Indian Government did not even know of this grave development till 1959, when Prime Minister Nehru made the shocking revelation to a stunned Parliament.

Fearing that a conflict may materialise with the Soviet Union, China has strengthened its north-eastern frontier region by removing local Mongolians and introducing specially selected Chinese settlers there.

Relations between the Army and the local tribals, the GOC claimed, "are splendid". The Army Development Group (ADG), the brain child of General Manekshaw, since its birth in 1966, has been helping the local population improve their living conditions, health and hygiene.

The presence of the Army in the area has not only helped its development but also opened the part of the forgotten highlands of exquisite beauty and splendour with picturesque local people, their quaint villages and temples to the people of the plain, who otherwise had no access there.

In spite of all these efforts to foster friendly relations, I

must say our jawans cannot get to the heart of the local people because of the formidable barrier of language.

India has no plan of a counter-offensive to recover lost territory. The enormous drainage of resources under defence programmes to hold our own against the Chinese has been continuing for more than seven years. This barren policy has failed to restore India's national prestige either with the locals or with the world. It has also been detrimental to our national economy.

Efforts are being made in Peking to decentralise the industry and prepare for a people's war by making the whole country a defence honeycomb, with areas able to act independently.

The People's Liberation Army of China built on Mao's concept of proletarian army is quite different from our own.

To increase the combat effectiveness of four-million-strong Chinese Army, Lin Piao has launched "Five good Fighters" and "Four good Company" movement. The movement is based on Chairman Mao's Great Three Concepts: (1) heighten your vigilance. (2) Defend the motherland and be prepared against national disasters, and (3) do everything for the people.

"Four good Company" is a company which is good in political and ideological work in the three-working-style in arranging daily life. The three-working-style is military technique, keeping comradeship and keeping fit.

"Five good-Fighters" are fighters who work politically and ideologically. Before undergoing training or setting out on a mission a Company is assembled and the political officer reads what are considered appropriate quotations from Mao Tse-tung.

Immediately after reveille the men line up before Mao's portrait and quotations are read. At morning and evening roll call they are required to sing the leading revolutionary song "The East is Red", and shout slogans.

We failed to cultivate the strength needed to deal with China in 1962.

Now the question is whether the defence-oriented army of non-violent India can ever match the limited Maoist war preparedness.

Suppose we have another fight with China, in which the Chinese have the worse of the exchanges. Would not they then bring up nuclear artillery, against which our troops will have no defence? China from the status of a nuclear have-not, has in a few years advanced to a stage where it not only has the big bomb but has also perfected small-yield nuclear weapons, which can be used against enemy troops or fortifications. We have been progressively widening the power gap with China ; every effort should be made to bridge the gap.

It is borne out by history that militarily, India has always remained a "backward" nation. When fire-arms were invented and our invaders used them extensively, we disdained them and continued to depend on bows, arrows and slings. We used elephants when our enemies came galloping on horseback.

The world's military spending was the staggering sum of \$200,000 million in 1969. India spends several crores every day to maintain her army in the forward area but are shy to produce nuclear weapons for country's security.

Only those countries are independent who are strong and independent in defence matters.

General de Gaulle rightly estimated that any nation which just relies on other nations for their technological and atomic weapons might also fall back in their whole industrial development.

The Israelis are known to have developed their atomic know-how to a degree which can easily lead to the manufacture of weapons.

For the Israelis argue it is a matter of their survival and not just another international principle.

Largely quiescent Indian people, however believe that Washington and Moscow will resist the Chinese nuclear might in the event of emergency.

The last two invasions have also shown that friendship in the international field does not get one very far as regards security of a nation. During India's war with China, some of our non-aligned friends taught us a lesson in non-alignment by strictly remaining non-aligned between India and China.

During the Pakistani incursion into Indian territory, Great Britain sided with Pakistan. After all, Pakistan was an offspring of British imperialism. This was, therefore, nothing surprising for us. Nor was the American attitude helpful.

Competing with China and the USA, the architect of the Tashkent Agreement, the USSR, has also started supplying arms to Pakistan and how true is the British dictum that "England has no permanent friends and no permanent enemies; she has only permanent interests."

May I quote Victor Zorza, an expert on the Communist world, who says. "China is simply too populous, too near, potentially too powerful, in both the military and in the economic sense, for the Soviet Union to feel safe."

If this assessment of China's potentiality vis-a-vis the Soviet Union is even partially correct, where does India stand in the power equation with China?

The great fear of China is that if the conflict between the Soviet Union and China breaks out, India in collusion with Russia may recover her lost territories and march into Tibet to install the Dalai Lama.

It, therefore, suits China to quicken the revolution in India not only because it helps it to extend its conquest for Communism but also because it keeps Indian authorities and its security forces busy internally. By keeping India's north-east frontier weak, China can be assured of its own security.

Building up of a defence system based on bilateral contracts with countries which belong to the opposing blocs is also fraught with grave danger. In this matter, we can take lessons from Indonesia.

In the days when President Sukarno ruled and ties with Russia were at their strongest, Indonesia's entire defence organisation was geared to Soviet supplied arms and equipment. The Soviet Union also provided naval vessels for the re-building of the Indonesian Navy and Air Force to help in the bid to beat the Malaysians.

Sukarno was ousted so were the Communists. Essential supplies of spare parts for all military equipment which the Russians had supplied ceased.

Now the major part of the Indonesian Air Force has been grounded for lack of essential spares.

Worse, because of the cost of procuring spares from other sources, the Indonesian Navy's flagship "Irian" is going to be sold as scrap-metal.

9

THE UNQUIET FRONTIER

All along the Himalayas in the north and north-east, we have, on our side of the frontier, a population ethnologically and culturally not different from Tibetans or Mongoloids.

The undefined state of the frontier and the existence on our side of a population with its affinities to Tibetans or Chinese have all the elements of potential trouble between China and ourselves.

Recent and bitter history also tells us that Communism is no shield against imperialism and that Communists are as good or as bad imperialists as any other. Chinese ambitions in this respect not only cover the Himalayan slopes on our side but also include important part of Assam.

—Excerpts from Vallabhbhai Patel's letter to Jawaharlal Nehru on November 7, 1950.

Every great power, more so, when it is a dictatorship, represents a potential threat to its neighbour. In spite of frictions in the socialist camp, Communist ideology is not dead. It has come to be an inevitable phenomenon for underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

If after 22 years of Independence, India, after spending Rs. 15,000 crores on planning alone and Rs. 46,000 crores in annual budgets, has one crore population without jobs and 20 crore men, women and children living in squalor and starvation, if inefficiency and red-tape are endemic in government, then the frustrated mass becomes an easy prey to Communism. Particularly the students—the most easily combustible material by virtue of their youthful, idealistic passion for adventure, romance, justice and fairplay—are easily cultivated and controlled by professional revolutionary Communists who can give every problem the character of a combat seeking to enact dramas in all their activities.

Small wonder that the Communist Party has gained a mass following in India but has found itself incapable of non-alignment between CPSU and CPC. The Chinese Communist Party took direct measures in 1960 to challenge the Soviet domination of the CPI and it started to promote its own views among the sympathetic section of the Indian party.

Chinese Communists claim that Mao has discovered an Asian form of Marxism. (Marx and Lenin were Europeans and, therefore, not very capable of solving Asian problems), and Mao's revolutionary theories chart a road to power not only for the Chinese people "but also for the billion folk who live in the colonial countries of South-East Asia." Mao's famous dictum is that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". It means that the expansion of Chinese Communism beyond her borders is possible only through force and only if countries are kept in a state of constant violent upheaval.

About India, China said: "Such trash as 'Gandhism', the 'Parliamentary Road' and the like are opium used by the Indian

ruling classes to dupe the Indian people. Only by relying on violent revolution and taking the road of armed struggle can India be saved and the Indian people achieve complete liberation." (*Peking Review* No. 28, 1967, P. 23).

The Secretary of the West Bengal Communist Party (Marxist), Mr. Promode Das Gupta, in his document *Revisionist Trend in CPI* toed the CPC line that the proletariat in all countries must "smash the bourgeois State apparatus", and demanded that the CPI must "follow the lead of the Chinese Party". He criticised the Rightist CPI leaders for relying on election rather than "civil war" as the road to power.

But the Soviet Union points out "Class Struggle does not accidentally, or because of someone's whim or ill will, turn into civil war. It is the result of a lengthy process of revolutionary development. Clashes and economic and political battles recur, develop, spread and become more heated finally reaching a point where they turn into the armed struggle of one class against another."

But the fact that the Indian Communists ignoring the 'power of the gun' took the parliamentary road and seized power in two States, West Bengal and Kerala, completely flabbergasted the Chinese Communists. Having lost in them the supporting base across the border, they bitterly denounced the CPI (M) as "scabs, imperialist stooges, servitors of Indian monopolists."

They said: "Hard facts have proved that the so-called non-Congress governments presided over by the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party were out and out lackeys of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, murderers of the revolutionary people, and flunkies of imperialism. Facts have also proved that the Indian revisionists' theory of peaceful transition is a hundred per cent counter-revolutionary fraud." (*Peking Review* No. 51, 1967, P. 26). Disappointed with the CPI (M), on whom they had pinned much hope, the Chinese Communist Party certified a splinter group in India popularly called the Naxalites as a "genuine Marxist-Leninist Party" since it has declared its faith in the "Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung."

Besides subversive infiltrations, sending of arms and assistance to rebels against the lawful government, China, following its policy of "making use of contradictions and destroying the enemy one by one", is provoking Pakistan and Nepal against India causing border forays and tensions. One of Mao's sayings is "injuring all of a man's ten fingers is not as effective as chopping off one".

We cannot minimise the danger represented by Pakistan to the peace and independence of India. Of course, India cannot be overpowered by Pakistani force but the Hindu racial genius is incompatible with the mood of violence. Even whenever there is a just cause for a fight with Pakistan, Indians feel seized with an overflow of affection for their brethren of yesterday. But this myth of gracious "yesterday" was exploded in the agonising Indo-Pakistan War of September 1965.

To look back into history, one Rahmat Ali, nearly 40 years ago first called for the creation of Pakistan as a state separate from India. The word "PAK" besides standing for "land of the holy" also represents by its initial names of Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Sindh. But later when Mr. Ali Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, took up the demands for the partition of the country and the establishment of separate Pakistan and Hindustan (he wanted India to be so named), he left out Afghanistan and Kashmir and included Assam and Bengal.

After partition, well-armed troops from across the western frontier attacked Kashmir in 1947 and reached Srinagar. They had unobstructed passage through Pakistan. If given the chance, the Indian Army would have cleared the whole of Kashmir of them, but India was induced by the then British Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, to go to the United Nations for relief and redress.

Trouble began; Pakistan claimed that Kashmir by right belonged to her (although the ruler had acceded to India), as the majority of its population were Muslims and the partition of India had taken place on a communal basis.

I experienced in the West preference for Pakistan's claims to Kashmir to that of India. Sometimes, I thought, was this because Pakistan's connection with the Western power blocs had encouraged in the Western countries some sort of vested interest in the affairs of Pakistan?

On one occasion when my plane took to wings at Karachi Airport during one of my visits to Europe, a group of American boys, all high-spirited teenagers, joined us. The boys were going to Bahrain (Saudi Arabia) after completing their assignment in US bases in Karachi for one year. I took off from Calcutta. The thrills of the speed already gave me the feel of an eternal traveller. These boys breathed the dust of the earth into my life, when, for reasons best known to them, they asked me why India was not accepting the claim of Pakistan to "Kashmere."

"It is because Kashmir was a part of India, even before Pakistan was born," I said.

One argued, "After all, Kashmere is predominantly a Muslim-inhabited State."

"If that be your logic, every Muslim-inhabited area in the world will belong to Pakistan", I retorted.

"Why don't you agree to plebiscite?"

"Because we don't want to set both India and Pakistan into bloody disorder by starting anew the crusade on religion".

The boys, meanwhile, had a few cocktails. That imparted them the wings to go astray. Leaving me they started to gain the attention of German airhostesses. They competed with one another to persuade an airhostess to sit on their laps. Western Eves can digest any amount of what we call vice and vulgarity and still retain their poise. Airhostesses were no exception and they looked after themselves with a tact and toughness typical of their profession.

Arriving at their destination the chirping chaps promised to meet the girls again somewhere in Germany and dashed out

of the plane. Their chief before disembarking apologetically said, "Perhaps the boys have not been a nuisance to you."

I thanked him and said, "Unfortunately men are oftener separated by opinions about things than by the things themselves."

Religion has been defined as a belief in an unseen power higher than man's, namely, God. Originally meant to serve mankind, religions degenerated when vested interest gained control over them and divided men, often into hostile and violent factions. The Indian subcontinent has been known as a place where Hindus and Muslims cannot live together in peace. The long-standing hostility between the two communities has erupted, generation after generation, in violent riots on the streets of all big cities. It is essentially a question involving only Hindus and Muslims. the other important religious minorities like Christian Parsees etc do not come into the picture.

Mr. Nirad C. Chaudhuri in his weekly commentary in *Hindustan Standard* published on October 20, 1969, wrote:

It is indeed true that the early Meccan surahs of the Quran enjoin patience under oppression to the followers of Muhammad. But that was due to their utterly helpless position. The attitude changed in the Medinate surahs, and resistance was enjoined. What is not less important, though Muhammad himself may not have laid down the doctrine *Jihad* or unceasing war against unbelievers became very soon the basis of the political organization of the Islamic society under the Caliphate. The Caliph was called the *Amir-al-Muminin* or Commander of the faithful, in wars with the infidel, and to fight infidels became a *fard ala-l-kifaya*—a duty in general, though not a *rukn*, for all male Muslims.

"In point of fact, while Islamic society prescribed complete peace and unreserved brotherhood among Muslims, it also believed in ceaseless war against non-Muslims, and therefore the Muslims divided the world into two parts—*Dar al-Islam* (Land of peace) and *Dar*

al-Harb (Land of conflict). This division could come to an end, in Islamic theory, only by the conversion of the unbelieving part of mankind to Islam."

The Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, who had killed his brothers and imprisoned his father in order to ascend the throne, wanted to turn India into *Dar al-Islam* and the sons of the soil, the Hindus, had to purchase by paying *Jiziya* tax the permissive right to live in their own motherland. This happened not very long ago, in the 18th century. Aurangzeb pulled down the great Hindu temples of Vishwanath at Varanasi and of Lord Krishna at Mathura and constructed mosques on those sites with the same materials. Before him Sultan Mahmud in the 11th century invaded India seventeen times and carried on large-scale massacre of Hindus besides desecration and destruction of Hindu temples in Kanauj, of Somnath in Gujarat and of Lord Krishna at Mathura. After pillage and plunder, many Muslim invaders went back leaving behind only memories of Islamic misdeeds. Muslims who have felt extremely hurt by the burning of a part of the sacred *al Aqsa* mosque in Israel can well measure the effects of the violence mentioned above on Hindu feelings and sentiments. The catholic integrating forces so wisely built up by Mughal Emperor Akbar were completely destroyed by Aurangzeb.

When the British came, they exploited the Hindu-Muslim bitterness for their own advantage. Time could not prove the healer.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan during his sojourn in India said in Ahmedabad on October 21, 1969, that most of the Muslim League leaders were 'yesmen' of the British. They were sirs, khan sahibs and nawabs who served the British and, in turn, fanned communalism to divide the country for their own interest. Muslim masses were never given training in nationalism by them.

At the present time we again witness just on the mere pretence of music before mosque, a cow-slaughter or even a trifle

dispute, serious riots break out, arsons and murders are committed by members of both communities.

Even by conceding Pakistan, India could not avoid minorityism. A cry for Moplah district in Kerala or a demand for plebiscite in Kashmir is again disturbing Indian politics. Creation of separate districts or special safeguards for minorities cannot be substitutes for nationhood. Such minorities, in normal times, retard national peace and progress and in times of crisis, betray the country and bring about its ruins.

India is thus agonised by twin pressures from forces of Islam—internally from Muslim minorities and externally from the Islamic state of Pakistan.

There are two different concepts of nationhood. One is a nation-state homogeneous in religion, language and culture; the other, the American kind, provides equal opportunity for all, though they may have diversity of language, religion and culture. Thus various ethnic groups keep their distinctive culture and enrich the nation by their separate contribution.

India belongs to the second category.

In India, the welfare of Muslims depends on the maintenance of secular, non-communal and pluralistic societies. In Pakistan, Islam finds itself defending a society in which Hindus enjoy a lesser status than Muslims. The Muslims must fight in India for their very security and existence against principles and practices they find themselves defending in Pakistan.

Having been divided into two parts—Pakistan (*Dar al-Islam*) and Bharat—India remains *Dar al-Harb* (Land of conflict) to Pakistan. Logically the driving force of Islam declares *Jihad* over Kashmir, or for that matter, against India and wants to avail itself of the opportunity of unabashed Chinese hostility to make India hand over the valley of Kashmir to her.

On the principle of the enemy's enemy being a friend,

Pakistan seems to have become a cat's paw in the hands of China's Mao, whose aim is to test India's military strength and unity if it has to take a second decision to attack India.

The Chinese cannot forget their past history. Whenever a strong government has come to power, it has tried to restore the old empire and to extend its influence even further. The Chinese Communists who now rule in Peking are no exception.

It had shown its determination to restore the frontiers of imperial China by invading Tibet in October 1950. In 1959 Tibet erupted in rebellion and Tibetan refugees, including the Dalai Lama, moved into India. Frontier clashes multiplied and in October 1962 the Chinese army struck at India across the 'contested' territory in the Himalayas.

For China, Tibet is the "Palm of the Chinese hand" and "Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and NEFA the five fingers."

LADAKH

Chinese incursions into India's northern frontier area had the focus of world attention on Ladakh. About the size of Ireland, it consists of lofty mountains whose peaks are 15,000 to 25,000 feet above sea level.

China continues to have an eye on Ladakh once described as "mountainous wonderland" by Fa-Hien and Ou'kong.

Fa-Hien and Ou'kong were Chinese pilgrims who travelled through Ladakh in 400 A.D. and spent more than a month in the elevated desert.

India's largest district—Ladakh—is a strange high-altitude area without rain and snow and temperature down to minus 40 in winter. Summer days are scorching hot, but nights are freezing cold. Dras in Ladakh is said to be the coldest inhabited place in the world.

Afforestation is going apace mainly with the planting of

willow trees from the Kashmir valley which may eventually bring rain to the barren area.

The population totals about 90,000, with less than two per square mile compared with 1,300 per square mile in Kerala — and for centuries the only rallying places have been the Buddhist gompas or monasteries.

Each village has its own gompa, outside which the monks place prayer wheels, which the devout spin with the prayer "Om Mane Padme Hum", (the jewel is in the lotus).

Leh is the district headquarters. The old palace of the Rajas of Ladakh towers over it. Its walls, damaged in the shelling by the Dogra Army 100 years ago, still stand as a monument to history.

Nearby is the Thikse Monastery, built spectacularly on a hill-top. Farther away is the Hemis Monastery, the premier one in Ladakh. Its youthful Lama has been detained by the Chinese in Tibet, where he had gone for studies.

Ladakh has long been a theocracy, with the priests themselves exercising, for all practical purposes, authority over the people. But now democracy has been introduced in this remote mountain region.

A daily bus service links Srinagar with Leh via Zoji-la, the 12,000 feet high pass which has been the historic invasion route to Kashmir. In 1947 the Indian Army in a unique manoeuvre took tanks up to Zoji-la to check the Pakistani invasion.

But the road through Zoji-la is open only from June to November, when it is cleared of snow. In winter, communications are possible only by air, for which there is a daily Indian Air Force flight from Chandigarh in Punjab to Leh.

NEPAL

Nepal, with 54,000 sq. miles, is the largest and the most influential border State between India and Tibet. Until 1950, it was a forbidden land where all political power was held by the hereditary Rana Prime Ministers. It was in 1950 that the Nepali Congress launched an armed struggle to end the despotic rule of the Ranas. And when the late King Tribhuvan, father of King Mahendra, had to flee Kathmandu to escape arrest by the then Prime Minister, Mohan Samsher, the die was cast. On arriving at New Delhi in an Indian Air Force plane, King Tribhuvan declared himself in favour of democratic rule in Nepal.

It is no longer a secret that Mohan Samsher also came to India, offered Nepal to be India's protectorate as Nepal was under the British before India's independence.

But Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru backed the King against the Rana rule and restored kingship to its rightful place. But the democracy that came in the wake of the revolution failed to take roots. For eight years, the people of Nepal had eight different governments, punctuated by periods of direct rule by the King. In 1959, the first democratic election was held and the people voted the Nepali Congress to power.

A very large part of Nepal is hills and jungles. According to the 1952 census, Nepal's population stood at 8,431,537. Ninety per cent of the people live on agriculture carried on in a primitive way. Wheel traffic was almost unknown there being only 300 miles of passable roads in the entire country which is twice the size of Great Britain. The percentage of literacy was not more than five.

The country's total revenue of N. Rs. 336m a year was hardly enough to meet the annual expenditure. This made it imperative to seek financial assistance from abroad. Financial assistance from India alone constitutes 50 per cent of Nepal's

total share of foreign aid. The democratic government of B. P. Koirala was facing the challenge with determination. But on a cold winter day of December, 1960, King Mahendra dismissed the Ministry, dissolved the Parliament, and put into prison as many members of the Nepali Congress as he could find.

And Communist China, relying heavily on the new situation, started constructing a Kathmandu-Lhasa road link, which the then exiled Nepali Congress leader in India described as "Nepal's road to Communism."

China hopes to entice Nepal into its own fold and King Mahendra is tilting the balance of power by throwing India into the vortex of cold war.

The Chinese have been active in building strategic roads not only in Nepal but also in Kashmir, Sinkiang and Tibet. The road between Lhasa and Sinkiang which China built in 1950 across Aksai Chin, the northern bulge of Indian Kashmir, connects Lhasa in Tibet with Kashgar in Sinkiang. Another road links Mor Khun with Qila Nabi, across the Khunjerab Pass in Sinkiang. Qila Nabi is on the Lhasa-Kashgar Road. Mor Khun is on a road built by the Chinese in 1968 linking Kashgar through the Mintaka Pass with Gilgit in Pakistan-held Kashmir. A road from Gilgit through Muzaffarabad, just north of the Pakistani capital Rawalpindi, provides the remaining link between Pakistan and Sinkiang.

These strategic roads, built by China, have shrunk the formidable Himalayas as a defensive barrier to India's vulnerable plains.

The bulk of India's rupee aid goes to Nepal. Bhutan and Sikkim. The aid programme for Nepal, which has increased every year since 1962, has reached 86.8 million dollars. Similar programmes have totalled 50 million dollars for Bhutan and 24 million dollars for Sikkim.

Those who complain that India is ungrateful to the U.S.A.

in spite of her economic assistance to India might have consolation that Nepal, which receives more than fifty per cent of its foreign aid from India and whose King owes his throne to India's timely assistance to his father demanded and forced India to withdraw the military mission that was keeping watch on Chinese troop movements along Nepal's northern border. *New Herald*, a Kathmandu daily reported in its issue of April 5, 1970, that Chinese technicians constructing the 176 km Prithvi highway linking Kathmandu with Pokhara were busy preaching Communism and Maoism to the workers.

These "obviously objectionable" activities included exhibition of propaganda films, distribution of cigarettes and medicines and large-scale free distribution of Maoist literature and Mao badges.

A proposal to build yet another road with Chinese assistance in eastern Nepal is also stated to be under consideration of Nepalese authorities. These projects will facilitate the Chinese to penetrate deep into the interior villages to carry on their campaign of indoctrination.

Chinese road workers in Nepal are stated to be paying particular attention to Gurkha ex-soldiers of the Indian Army who have returned to their villages as pensioners. These Gurkhas seem to be assiduously sought after by the Chinese who make it a point to erode their goodwill for India.

In view of its geographical position, India's vital security interest is involved in Nepal. The Indian Government cannot but be worried about the possibility of a threat developing to India across Nepal as was the case with France while Hitler's army marched across Belgium during the Second World War.

Kathmandu should also be aware of the risks involved in getting too close to Peking. Nepal will do well to remember Chairman Mao's view of Nepal as a territory of which China had been robbed by "unequal treaties" and his claim on Mount Everest as within the Chinese territory.

BHUTAN

China has always regarded the Mongolian people that border on her own or Tibetan frontiers — the Bhutanese, the Sikkimese and the Nepalese — as rightfully belonging to her sphere of influence. Bhutan, in particular, is considered "the gate in the south". Its climate and its comparatively fertile valleys are in many ways ideal for colonization by the Chinese. The British who knew the implication of Bhutan for the safety of India, had, by a treaty in 1910, taken Bhutanese foreign relations under their control in return for an annual subsidy. After independence in August 1947, the Indian Government entered into a new treaty, under the terms of which Bhutan agreed "to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations" in return for an annual subsidy of 500,000 rupees plus guaranteed transportation rights through India, its only link with the outside world.

Alarmed by Nepalese flirtation with Peking, the Bhutanese are watching Chinese overtures with cynical eyes.

A treasure house of nature, this 18,000-sq-mile strategic State has a population of about 73,030

Chinese efforts to exert supremacy over Bhutan are nothing new. History mentions a Chinese attempt in this direction during the days of Emperor Chian Lung of China in 1736. The early history of Bhutan is so much enveloped in myth and legend that little is definitely known. Perhaps it is better to count the advent of saint Padma Sambhab in Bhutan from India, in the 8th century A.D., as the starting point for a reliable history of the country. At that time, there were two important rulers in Bhutan — Khizi Khar Thot of Khempalung and Naguchhi.

Naguchhi's eldest son was killed in a battle, which filled the king with grief. It is at this juncture that Padma Sambhab arrived on the scene; he consoled the King.

The subsequent history of Bhutan is largely concerned with the rise and spread of the Dupka sect founded by the Yeses

Dorji between 1160 and 1210 A.D. The present ruler Jigme Dorji Wangchuk is third in the line of succession of the Dupka sect.

Until 1906, the Chinese never displayed much interest in Bhutan, whose rulers had to some extent acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the theocratic hierarchy in Tibet.

But following the return of the Younghusband mission from Lhasa in 1904, and the exile of the Dalai Lama to Mongolia, a political vacuum came into being in the country on the roof of the world, which the Chinese attempted to fill. A Chinese imperial commissioner, Chang Ying Tana, was posted in Lhasa in 1906.

He proceeded to create a Chinese-dominated "Greater Tibet." He compared the union of China, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim to a blending of five colours and visualised Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan as the molars in China's wide mouth.

Under his direction, Amban Lien Yu described Bhutan as the "southern gate of the Chinese empire" in a letter to the Government of Bhutan. In order to assert Chinese suzerainty over Bhutan, he sent an officer, Ma Chi Fu, to "report on the state of the country."

To counteract the Chinese move, the British Government of India hastened to sign the treaty of 1910.

In 1954 the Communist Government of China revived interest in Bhutan. In the "Brief History of Modern China", published in that year from Peking, Bhutan was described as China's "lost territory." In the same year, China forcibly seized eight Bhutanese enclaves and Chinese maps claimed about 300 square miles of Bhutan as Chinese territory.

In 1966 Chinese troops intruded into the Doklan area in the kingdom and claimed it as theirs. When India protested against this wanton intrusion, China called upon Bhutan for direct negotiations with China.

An excellent heavy-traffic road capable of taking 10-ton vehicles now exists in Tibet running parallel to the Bhutan border at a distance of three to five miles. Starting at Chumbi Valley, the road goes up to NEFA, skirting Bhutan.

From this highway, the Chinese are said to have constructed heavy-traffic lateral and feeder roads up to a mile of the international border of Bhutan.

The Chinese are said to have the logistic advantage in that for their army the task is the easy one of rolling down the slopes of the northern heights to the valleys and plains of Bhutan, while for the defending army it would be to struggle uphill on difficult terrain.

At present, Bhutan has a small army trained by Indian military personnel. This army is meant more to man the check-posts and meet any possible internal troubles than to meet external aggression.

Reports say that the Chinese tried to create trouble at the Bhutanese border by infiltrations in May 1970 following President Giri's visit to Bhutan.

The National Assembly of Bhutan is anxious that Bhutan becomes a member of the United Nations. India has agreed to sponsor Bhutan's UN membership.

The Bhutanese National Assembly called Tsongdu on May 31, 1969, passed an amendment to the country's constitution making the continuity of the rule of any individual monarch dependent on his enjoying the confidence of the majority of his people.

The amendment provided that if the Tsongdu passes by a two-thirds majority a resolution expressing no-confidence in any ruler, the King must abdicate in favour of the next royal successor. Moreover, every three years the Tsongdu must discuss and put to secret vote a resolution reiterating its confidence in the King. Any member of the Tsongdu may, how-

ever, bring at any time a vote of no-confidence against the ruler which, if passed by a two-thirds majority in the 150-member Assembly, will bring about the termination of the rule of that King.

The 46-year-old King Jigmi Dorji Wangchuk on May 20, 1970, moved a resolution in the National Assembly that his rule could be terminated by a simple majority of "people's representatives" in the Assembly instead of the existing two-thirds majority of the whole Assembly.

The Assembly turned down his request and reaffirmed its faith in the existing rule of two-thirds majority.

The 150-seat Assembly has three categories of members—people's representatives (elected by indirect method), monastic representatives (nominated by various monastic bodies) and official representatives (nominated by the King).

The King told a Press conference that he did not believe in the perpetuation of the dynasty and that it was for the Assembly to decide whether his 16-year-old son, the Crown Prince, should succeed him.

King Wangchuk has also made the Tsongdu a strictly sovereign body by abolishing royal veto on resolutions and bills passed by it.

SIKKIM

Nestling in the Himalayan folds of the Singalila range from which rise the snow peaks of Kanchanjangha, the third highest mountain in the world, the 2,745-square-mile state of Sikkim is bounded on the north and north-west by Tibet, on the west by Nepal, on the south-east by Bhutan and on the south by the Indian district of Darjeeling.

A protectorate of India, it sits astride the historic trade routes where mule trains once crossed the Himalayan passes bound to and from Tibet. Now, however, the bells on the pack

animals are all but stilled, and the yelping cries of the drivers are no more heard since the trade between India and Tibet has been stopped. The Government of India also entered into a fresh treaty on December 5, 1950, under which India not only acquired the full control of Sikkim's external relations but also the right to take such measures as she considered necessary for the defence of Sikkim, in return for an annual subsidy of 200,000 rupees.

Sikkim is about one-third the size of Israel and has a population of 1,67,000, three-fourths of whom are of the Nepalese stock. The largest minority is represented by the Lepchas, who are seeking greater status for their group.

The Lepchas are the original inhabitants of Sikkim. In general, they live and work on private estates owned either by the Sikkim Royal family or by the Buddhist monasteries in which the Himalayas abound.

Though the majority of the Sikkimese population are Hindus, Buddhism is the State religion. The impact of Buddhism on Sikkim has been attributed to the Tibetan monk Lhatsen Chembu and his two disciples, Semna Chembu and Rinzin Chembu.

Lhatsen Chembu and his disciples, unable to bear the persecution in Tibet, migrated to Yaksum, a remote Sikkimese village, situated in Sikkim's north western region. In fact, the civilisation of Sikkim started from this unknown village of Yaksum—the last inhabited place towards Kanchanjangha—meaning “the meeting place of three monks”. The three monks brought with them a rich reservoir of Tibetan culture and tradition.

Legend links Sikkim's ruling family with Khebumsek, a Tibetan warlord from Mynak in East Tibet. The descendant of Khebumsek can originally be traced back to the Indian King Indrobodhi, who reigned in what is known today as the Himachal Pradesh in western Himalayas. Towards the end of the ninth century a descendant of King Indrobodhi is known to have founded the Mynak Kingdom in the Kham area of Tibet.

The present ruler of Sikkim, the youthful Chogyal ("the righteous leader") Palden Thondup Namgyal, the 12th ruler of the Namgyal dynasty, was enthroned on April 4, 1965, at the Royal Monastery of Tahuqlakhang. This Sikkimese King, educated at Darjeeling and Simla, is married to an American girl from New York, Miss Hope Cook (now Gyalmo Hope Namgyal).

All the world wondered when a foreigner became the queen of Sikkim. The custom of an ancient Royal family going back to 300 years was violated. But the Laadi Midy (Council of lamas and laymen) signified its assent to the wedding. The Maharaja's first wife was from a Tebetan noble family, who died in August 1950, leaving behind her two sons.

The King or Chogyal as he is titled runs the administration after listening to the representations made by the elected members of a Council. The Council consists of 24 members, 18 elected and six nominated.

The elective seats in the Council are shared seven each by the Bhutia-Lepchas, who constitute 25 per cent of the 175,000 population of the State; and the Nepalese, who form 75 per cent, with a view to maintaining "parity" between the communities.

One seat each is reserved for the Tsongs, the scheduled (backward) castes and the Sangh (the Buddhist monasteries). The one remaining seat is a general one, which may be contested by anyone.

To be elected in a communal seat, a candidate must secure a majority of votes from his own community and also at least 15 per cent of the votes of the rest of the electorate in the constituency.

If he fails to fulfil the second condition, the next candidate who gets no less than 15 per cent of the votes from the other communities will supersede him, provided the difference in the votes of the parent community polled by the two does not exceed 15 per cent of the total votes secured by the first.

If this difference is more than 15 per cent, the first man is declared elected, despite his not having secured the 15 per cent votes of the other communities. The King appoints a number of Executive Councillors, who are given charge of the "transferred subjects". The councillors thus appointed need not be from the majority party in the Council. They hold office during the pleasure of the King, to whom alone they are responsible.

The subjects described as "transferred" are: agriculture and animal husbandry; excise and bazars (markets); transport; public works; forests; and education. All other portfolios are "reserved" for direct administration under royal guidance.

The Chinese have built up an air base at Phari Dzong in Chumbi valley that shapes like Sword of Damocles on the India-Tibet border of North Bengal between Sikkim and Bhutan.

Phari Dzong is on the old Bhutan trade route from India via Sikkim. Situated at an altitude of 14,300 feet, Phari Dzong which in Tibetan literally means the place that glorifies the mountains, is about 50 miles as the crow flies from the Indian border.

The Chinese have also built a motorable road over the Tibetan plateau—the roof of the world—reaching very close to Bum La, India's northernmost outpost in Kameng district of NEFA, the source of 1962 fighting.

Another jeepable road also links Lhasa, the Tibetan Capital, with Khinze Mane, which, it will be recalled, was among the first Indian outposts overrun by the Chinese during the 1962 aggression.

ASSAM & NEFA

With an area of 85,000 sq. miles, the North East Frontier Agency and Assam lie in the extreme north-east corner of India. Connected with the Indian mainland only by a corridor the territory is completely cut off from the rest of India. For 2,200 miles, Assam is bordered by Tibet and Bhutan in the north, by Burma on the east and by Pakistan on the south and the west.

Throughout its history, Assam has been subjected to a number of invasions from the north and the east. A steady trickle of tribes from western China to the Himalayan valleys is known to have taken place from time immemorial. Until the British took over in the last century, Assam was ruled for 700 years by a dynasty of such migrant Mongoloid kings as the Ahoms.

The hills hold tens of thousands of backward, fierce tribesmen who belong to hundreds of different tribes, many still unidentified and inaccessible. The racial picture is bewildering; here diverse strains of Austro-Asians, Dravidians, Mongoloids and Aryans are mingled. The dominant streak appears to be Mongoloid. The area has a reputation for tribal restlessness, internecine warfare, and uprisings.

The Nagas inhabit the mountainous borderland between the Brahmaputra valley of Assam and Upper Burma. The State is about half the size of Belgium and in it live some thirty Naga tribes, comprising about 45,000 people. They have been in armed revolt against Indian authority and are being helped by China and Pakistan. Hundreds of tribesmen, travelling across Burma, have undergone training in guerrilla camps in Pakistan and south-west China.

Both China and Pakistan, in their desire to see India in turmoil, have been giving massive arms aid, free asylum and training to various hostile elements, particularly the Naga and Mizo insurgents, for well over a decade.

In 1956, some emissaries of the Naga leader, Phizo, were given facilities to migrate and stay in East Pakistan by the courtesy of officials of the Pakistan High Commission in Shillong. Phizo himself escaped into Dacca in November 1957 and then to London in 1961. The contacts established by the Naga leader with the Pakistan authorities bore fruit when a party of about 150 hostile Nagas led by Kaito Sema and Mowu Angami crossed into Sylhet district in East Pakistan on May 1, 1962. Kaito's party re-entered India in March 1963, after several months, re-armed with 2-inch mortars, 16

light machine guns, 30 sten guns, 100 rifles, grenades, explosives, and a few 73 mm. rocket launchers.

Six months later, a second party of hostile Nagas re-entered India with another big load of arms including many Chinese auto-rifles.

Movement of hostile Nagas between East Pakistan and India has become frequent during the succeeding years.

After a parley between the Chinese Ambassador in London and Phizo in 1965, a batch of 150 Naga hostiles led by Brig. Thinousilie Angami reached Yunan in China in 1966. They were indoctrinated in Mao's thought and were given a huge quantity of arms.

Later in March 1969, along with about 339 of his followers Mowu Angami was intercepted by the security forces while they were crossing into Indian territory with a huge quantity of Chinese arms, after a period of guerrilla training in China.

Naga rebels have infiltrated into Manipur and extended their activities among such Naga tribes as Tangkhul, Mao, Kabui and Zemi. There the impact of the rebel Naga presence was such that a section of Manipur Nagas started demanding the merger of their areas in Nagaland. Two small tribes, the Anal and the Chiru, chose to join the prestigious "Naga group."

The Naga influence became so strong in the area that large sections of Kukis, Mizos and other tribes also recognised the overlordship of Naga insurgents. The Kuki National Union, a secessionist Kuki organisation, agreed to accept the supreme leadership of the Naga underground. This was of no mean significance, because the Kukis and the Nagas were traditional sworn enemies.

Mizo rebels have been active in Manipur since 1966. In alliance with Kuki insurgents—and in occasional liaison with the extremist section of the Naga underground—they operate in large areas from Churachandpur to Tamenglang and Jiribam.

While increasing success of the Indian security forces inside the Mizo Hills District has considerably subdued the rebels, they continue to create trouble inside Manipur in a big way.

The Meitei extremists of Manipur also established close liaison with the Mizo rebels and actually went to Pakistan *via* Mizo district.

In spite of their lack of public support it will be wrong to minimise and underestimate the potential threat against the background of the movement of China-backed Naxalites in adjoining areas.

Naxalites have been very active in Assam and in areas bordering Bhutan, NEFA, Nagaland and the Mizo-Cachar border for promoting the cause of their liberation war. Armed uprisings in Nagaland and Mizo Hills are also claimed as part of their liberation war. In view of proximity to China and East Pakistan, the so-called "liberation war" in these areas may pose a grave problem for India.

A meeting of Mizo and Naga rebels was held on February 15, 1969, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of East Pakistan at which representatives of the Governments of Pakistan and China were present and at which discussions were held on developing East Pakistan as a centre of inter-tribal co-ordination.

The number of guerrilla training centres is being increased with instructors from China to impart training not only to Naga and Mizo rebels but also to other elements, Kukis and Meiteis, from India.

Laldenga, the so-called President of the "Mizoram Government" who has his headquarters in East Pakistan, visits the camps established by the Government of Pakistan for the rebels opposite the border of the Mizo Hills District to receive reports and give guidance.

With a view to providing support and cover to the Mizo rebels while re-entering the Mizo Hills District of India, the

Pakistan authorities have strengthened the posts of **East Pakistan Rifles** along the border. The rebels having bases opposite the border of Tripura have violated Indian territory and committed depredations within Tripura. Towards the end of 1969 and early 1970, groups of armed Mizo rebels re-crossed into the Mizo Hills District from their safe refuge in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (East Pakistan) and attacked villages in Indian territory and indulged in murder and loot before escaping into East Pakistan.

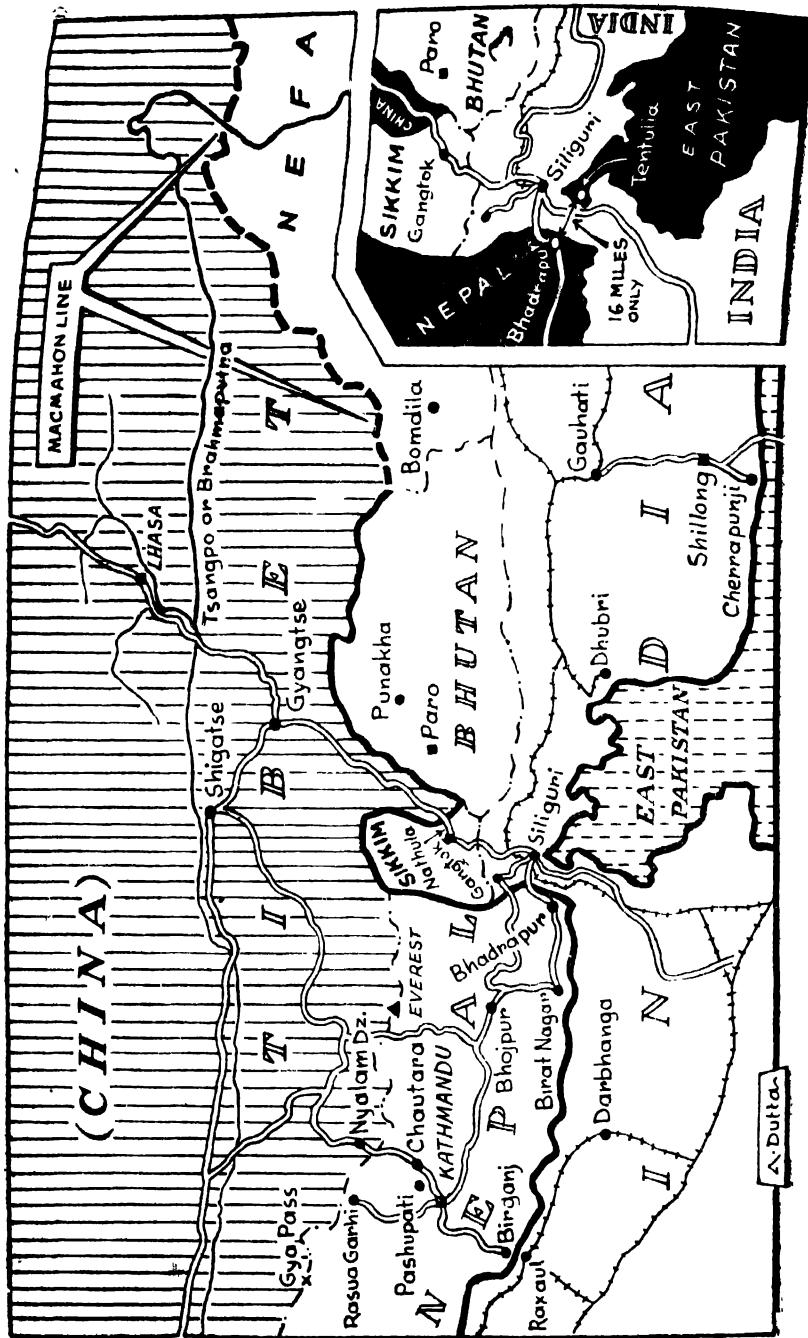
Recent infiltration of about 10,000 regular Chinese troops into the Shan State of Upper Burma bordering Yunnan province of China has also posed a serious and fresh threat to Indian frontier areas like Manipur, Nagaland and NEFA. Chinese troops joined local Shan and Karen insurgents and fought at least three major battles with the Burmese Army at Kutkai, Paan and Kamlong in the north-eastern Shan area. Burmese Communist Party members and Naga hostiles now in Burma also joined Shan and Karen insurgents against Burmese troops.

In the background of the political couldron in the regions of Burma and India, Communist China is stated to be encouraging all insurgents of Burma and India to form a united front to start similar activities as in Indo-China.

This is the area of the world in which Mao's ideology is conditioning the tribals and their naive leadership for submission to Communism.

And what is more, we need to know, is that for China to seal off Assam's narrow corridor of 16 miles with the rest of India would be a quick and easy step. In view of the precarious state of Indo-Pakistani relations, it does not seem unlikely that such a complete encirclement of Assam is in Mao's mind.

Mao Tse-tung, while shaking hands with the Indian Charge-d'Affaires at the May Day (1870) reception in Peking, had reportedly said that India, a great country, and China had been friends in the past and they should have the same old friendship.



The Government of India became very much excited over Mao's friendly gesture and hoped in vain that this would follow some concrete proposals from China.

India should not have read too much in the "warm sentiments" expressed by Mao as he had expressed similar sentiments to the representatives of the Soviet Union and Great Britain at the same reception.

This was nothing more than a general pose of geniality and friendliness and China's solicitude for the Naxalites, its attitude towards Pakistan and the encouragement it gives to rebel elements indicate no change in China's attitude towards India.

The Soviet Union has also accused Peking of promoting insurrectionist movements in the neighbouring State, India.

The Indo-Pakistani and Indo-Nepalese relations, China's intrigues in Sikkim and Bhutan as well as aid to rebels in Burma and Nagaland came in for attack as examples of China's bid to set Asians against Asians.

The attack was carried in an issue of the authoritative Soviet weekly *New Times* in June, 1970.

China's border conflict with India was now nearly ten years old and from time to time it got quite serious, the weekly said adding that China was at the same time trying constantly to interfere in India's internal affairs and was calling for a civil war in that country and creation of liberated areas.

Perhaps, the Soviet Union by this publication wanted to impress India that the friendship with her would be the most effective check on Chinese expansionism.

China's latest subversion tactics against India is the formation of a "joint Military command" composed of Mizo, Kuki and Naga tribals marooned in East Pakistan after receiving guerrilla training in China. The hostiles are reported to be equipped

with "small but sophisticated" firearms brought from China. The total number of hostiles under the "command" is put at about 1,500. They are said to be financed by the Chinese through pro-Peking elements in East Pakistan.

While Chinese intentions regarding these States are no longer in doubt, the local population is, no doubt, very much alert, partly because the Chinese invasion of India has shocked them, and partly because the overwhelming majority of the Sikkimese and Bhutanese are Lamaists and the fate of the Dalai Lama, head of the Lamaist Church, has been a warning.

These countries are, no doubt, sitting on the edge of history.

10

**THE
REVOLUTION
IN INDIA**

The spring thunders of revolution are reverberating through the vast land of India . . . under the leadership of the Communist Party of India Marxist Leninist . . . with vigour and vitality. They are carrying out an agrarian revolution and guerrilla warfare . . . opening up a completely new situation for the Indian revolution.

—New China News Agency
January 6, 1970.

We want to turn the old world upside down, to smash it to smithereens, to create chaos and an absolute muddle. And the greater this muddle, the better . . . We want to lead our revolt to the end, to cause a tremendous uprising of the proletariat and create a new, proletarian world.

—Hungchi, organ of the Central Committee of
the CPC. No. 10, 166 p. 11.

After the First World War the struggle in Asia was primarily against British and French imperialism. After the Second World War the struggle is against neo-colonialism, mainly of the United States.

One-quarter of the population (142 million) of the globe, one-quarter of the land surface of the earth (15 million square kilometres)—that was the old British empire. Today this has shrunk to 2.7 million square kilometres and 15 million inhabitants. Communism is now in power in countries that cover nearly 26 per cent of the total area of the world and 34 per cent of the world population.

The phrase “social imperialism” has been coined by China to differentiate the Soviet Union from Chinese “Communism” and from ‘imperialism’ of the United States. While there was contraction of classical imperialist powers from Asia and Africa after the Second World War, the ‘Social imperialist’ Russia has annexed, as a result of the same War, 700,000 square kilometres of territory with 25 million population in Europe. Besides, she extended her control over one million kilometres and 95 million people in Eastern Europe.

Sixty-five years ago, Japan inflicted a defeat and ended the Russian move for penetration into Asia. Seeing a power vacuum developing Russia has moved back again in Asia and now controls an area of 12 million square kilometres inhabited by 775 million people.

Looking at the map of Asia, one finds most of the countries in it have already come under the sphere of influence respectively of two major Communist powers—Russia and China.

As the influence of Communism over the young folk of Asia increased, facilitating growing Soviet presence in Asia, Mao Tse-tung of China with an impulse to contain Russia, hammered

home his teachings in Asia in which he was being put forward as the Messiah.

India is now in the vortex of an ideological war and is grappling with tides of Chairman Mao's thought.

Bengal has been known as the window through which the wind of new ideas blows into the rest of India.

Napoleon Bonaparte once said: "England is a nation of shopkeepers." When the British shopkeepers came along the Bhagirathi, they not only brought commodities to sell but also new ideas. Bengal first assimilated them and carried them to the rest of India. Now the wind of new ideas has come from China. Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thoughts overflowing from the other side of the Himalayas have burst like a bomb on the streets of Calcutta.

A sullen, dogged resolve to see it through has gripped the people of West Bengal. History of India will be re-written on the basis of the choice Bengalees make and Bengalee's memory cannot be so short as to forget the tragedy of 1757 (Battle of Plassey) when the nation of shopkeepers seized the golden opportunity of building an empire in India. On his arrival in Bengal, Clive witnessed (to use his own words) "a presidency divided, headstrong and licentious, a government without subordination, discipline or public spirit amidst a general stagnation of useful industry and of licensed commerce, individuals were accumulating immense riches, which they had ravished from the insulted prince and his helpless people who groaned under the united pressure of discontent, poverty and oppression. . . . Such a scene of anarchy, confusion, bribery, corruption and extortion was never seen or heard of in any country but Bengal; nor such and so many fortunes acquired in so unjust and rapacious a manner."

A two hundred years' journey back in time could only create the environment of the political feuds that have been going on in West Bengal in the year 1970.

The religion of Communism has travelled from its European home to the South-East Asian region and there are Indians who own China's Chairman Mao as their Chairman.

It seems that the era of patriotism has faded out and as a section of Indians in the 18th century offered India to Robert Clive on a silver platter, another section in the 20th century is determined to offer her to Chairman Mao with red salutes.

The elder statesman of India, C. Rajagopalachari, warns: "Quite a large number of people fear that India is being consciously or unconsciously conditioned for disorders leading to a Communist take-over. They have much reasons to think on these lines."

As an early result of the establishment of British rule, the famine of 1770 had swept away over one-third of the population of Bengal. 173 years after she was devastated by a more calamitous famine in 1943 as the parting kick of the British. It caused as many as 3,400,000 deaths in Bengal. Then occurred the ghastly Calcutta killing of 1946 and, last but not the least, the partition. Truncated and impoverished West Bengal had to bear the burden of about 5,000,000 refugees who came over to India. There has again been a spurt in the influx since April 1970 and refugees have been pouring into West Bengal at the rate of 1,500 a day in June. A report of ECAFE reveals that 60,000 people live on the open pavements of Calcutta and half of the total 5,000,000 population in Greater Calcutta are housed in bustees (slums). People do not get enough room to walk side by side on the streets of Calcutta. The main thoroughfares remain jammed for hours together. As per employment exchange statistics, the number of the educated unemployed in West Bengal was at the end of December, 1969, 182,000, the highest in India.

In the first Five-Year Plan, when undivided Bombay was, on the comparative estimates more or less equal to West Bengal, the former was allotted Rs. 224 crores and the latter Rs. 154 crores. In the Second Plan, West Bengal's share was Rs. 145 crores and Maharashtra's Rs. 107 crores. In the Third Plan the Centre's attitude was not different. With the population of West Bengal, Maharashtra and Gujarat are, according to 1961 Census,

35 million, 40 million and 21 million respectively in the Fourth Plan West Bengal got Rs. 322 crores, whereas Maharashtra and Gujarat got Rs. 890 crores and Rs. 455 crores respectively. In the Fourth Plan, per capita expenditure is the lowest in West Bengal.

In this context, it is little wonder that a fairly large number of students succumb to Communism and look for inspiration to alien leaders who fan the basest instinct by promising a better but elusive world.

The Communist Party of India—born in 1920 at Tashkent as a child of the Comintern—was brought up and nursed by the Communist Party of Great Britain. The leadership of the party was drawn primarily from Western urban intellectuals (by birth well-to-do, ambitious young men, who had been to England) and semi-intellectual rural gentry. The Party practically took root in India in 1928. It was banned in July 1934 and had to remain underground up to 1942. Following the directive in 1935 of George Dimitrov of Bulgaria, General Secretary of the Comintern, P. C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Indian Communist Party, called for a national front against British imperialism and began to co-operate with the Congress which embodied all that was significant in the Indian Independence movement.

During this period the party aimed at establishing control over the Congress by infiltrating into it and strengthening its Left-wing forces. The party backed Subhas Chandra Bose against Gandhi's candidate in the party's presidential election. Bose won the election. But when Gandhi's supporters threatened to leave the Congress, the Communists gave up their opposition to Gandhi. Because of the shadow of war in Europe Bose insisted that the time had come to launch a struggle against British colonialism with all the means available. The CPI supported him as this coincided with the interest of the Soviet Union following the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of August 1939. But when on the 22nd June Nazi troops marched across the Soviet frontier, Moscow's policies changed and with it those of the CPI. A "People's war against Fascism" was proclaimed

and Gandhi's "Quit India" movement against British imperialism was opposed. As a reward the Communist Party of India was legalised by the British Government.

At the end of the war, the CPI, however, started supporting Nehru. In 1947, Russians broke their war-time alliance with the Allies and the Cold War was started between the East and the West. Moscow suggested the formation of an anti-imperialist front against Great Britain and the U.S.A.

In 1946, an extremist section of the CPI organised the Telengana revolt in the Telugu-speaking agricultural areas in Madras and B. T. Ranadive replaced P. C. Joshi as the Secretary-General.

Ranadive resorted to violent methods to complete a "people's democratic" revolution on the Soviet model—particularly in the towns. His tactics proving abortive, he was replaced by C. Rajeshwar Rao who was considerably influenced by the ideas of Mao Tse-tung. He decided to concentrate on the peasantry. The ironman of India, Sardar V. Patel, the then Home Minister, took strong measures against the Telengana revolt and Nehru warned Indians of the Communist programme of "murders, arson and looting as well as acts of sabotage."

In 1951 Rao was succeeded by Ajoy Ghosh and the CPI participated in the game of parliamentary politics and fought the 1952 election.

In the 1957 election, the CPI gained absolute majority in Kerala and formed a government headed by E.M.S. Namboodiripad. It was then thought perhaps India's "deeply unique national traditions" were teaching democracy to the Communists. Khrushchev's attack on Stalin in February 1956 eroded the theory of Stalin's infallibility and the belief that Moscow's decisions are always historically correct. No wonder in the circumstances, extremist section, looked increasingly to Peking for inspiration.

In 1963 Ajoy Ghosh died and at Moscow's behest S. A. Dange became his successor and the post of Secretary-General was raised to that of chairman.

Dange failed to save Communist unity following the Chinese aggression against India in October 1962 when the Peking-oriented extremists failed to fall in line with Dange and name China an aggressor.

In August 1964, in Tenali in Andhra Pradesh, the Peking faction decided to form a new Communist Party of India. And in the Calcutta Congress in November 1964, a new party called the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was formed with P. Sundarayya, an extremist peasant leader from Telengana, as its General Secretary with E.M.S. Namboodiripad and Jyoti Basu as members of the Politburo.

From the above accounts, it would appear before it could bloom, the Communist movement in India was doomed by sharp divisions even long before the Soviet and Chinese party conflicts came into the open. The Indian Communist Party was never led by a dynamic personality of the stature of Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh or even of Fidel Castro. The leadership of the party could never project the image of personalities and build a central authority to prevent regional factionalism or adventurism growing in its rank and file.

Sometimes following the Soviet model with emphasis on struggle in the cities, sometimes following the Chinese path and carrying on a peasant revolt in the countryside, the militant sections of West Bengal (nurtured in the old terrorist tradition) and Andhra only helped create chaos in the organisation. On the other hand, the central party line at the behest of Moscow continued to trail Nehru and support his progressive policy against imperialist and feudal forces and relied primarily on parliamentary tactics to advance the party's future.

Following disclosures of Stalin's crimes by Khrushchev in the CPSU's Twentieth Congress, Ajoy Ghosh, the then General

Secretary, CPI, had to confess that "some of our comrades say that the whole moral basis on which they stood is shaken and there is nothing on which to stand." Again on the Hungarian issue, Mr. Ghosh in an open letter published in the *New Age* on November 18, 1956, admitted that the party had been wrong in the past in "idealising the USSR" and in not having paid more attention to other people's criticism of the Soviet Union.

Bewilderment and confusion marked the thoughts and actions of the Party from top to bottom during the period from 1952 to 1963.

In the wake of the Sino-Soviet split the CPI was divided, the Right-wing remained committed to the Moscow line; the Left was won over by Peking ideologically.

Armed peasant struggle in India on the Chinese model was considered unsuitable by a section of Communist leadership for the lack of a firm, contiguous rear such as the Chinese People's Liberation Army was said to have had in the Soviet Union. When the Chinese Army made a vigorous appearance on Indian borders, the consciousness of having a contiguous supporting base across the border might have inspired the armed insurrection in May 1967 in Naxalbari in North Bengal. Following Mao's three-stage revolutionary war, militant elements of the CPI(M) perhaps planned first to set up a liberated area in North Bengal, then broaden the area with contiguous Chinese rear before finally launching the struggle for the liberation of the whole country. The CPI(M) and the CPI contested the general election of 1967 in West Bengal as rivals. If they had not won the number of seats they gained, the CPI(M) might have gone on Mao's hard lines. But after the success in the polls, the lure of office was too strong to resist the idea of joining a Ministry formed under the leadership of the Bangla Congress, along with CPI and other smaller parties with a diametrically opposite ideology.

Like the Congress Party, the two Communist parties are burdened with a leadership, senile, static and incapable of

decisive action. S. A. Dange, Chairman of the CPI, is over seventy. The CPI(M) politburo members are all over fifty conditioned to a peace time life with occasional sojourns to first class prisons. They can hardly be expected to plan armed insurrection. Ajoy Mukherjee, a Gandhite, stepped out of the Congress fold and stole what might have been otherwise a revolution by strong-armed methods in other circumstances. Alienated from the Congress, the general mass of the people found an alternative in Ajoy Mukherjee to vote for, and polling a sizable vote, his party Bangla Congress could prevent the CPI(M) from leading the UF Government in West Bengal.

In West Bengal, Ajoy Mukherjee is still a great anti-Communist force and if both the Indira Congress and the Syndicate Congress rally behind him, along with Bangla Congress he can yet lead Congress to victory in the next poll.

What really is the difference between the Naxalites and other Communists? Communist of all varieties are committed to political violence and they all preach class war and revolution. The difference is that while Naxalities wish to prepare the masses politically by precipitating violence from the outset and thus force them to choose sides right now, the others first prepare the mass mind leading to a situation where an ultimate battle between classes is expected to usher them in to victory. But both believe that no radical change is possible without violence, that parliamentary democracy is sham and that the present authority of the State should be eroded.

The following passage from the "Resolution and Speeches at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, 1935" will clarify Communist strategy in fighting elections. "One of the most direct appeals the Communists make to the masses is an electoral appeal on every level. Few people vote for revolution, even when they are deeply dissatisfied with existing conditions. They vote for the promise of specific reforms, or in protest. Very often, Communist parties capitalize on the desire of the masses for reforms by running candidates who make all sorts of promises to improve the immediate conditions

and at the very least to alleviate... It establishes the futility of either allying oneself with them or supporting them if one is interested in improving the immediate conditions of the masses rather than in engineering a violent revolution. Parliamentarism cannot be a form of Proletarian Government.... the task of the proletariat consists in blowing up the whole machinery and destroying all the Parliamentary Institutions.... A Communist delegate, by decision of the Central Committee is bound to combine lawful work with unlawful work. In countries where the Communist delegate enjoys a certain inviolability, this must be utilized to illegal organizations and for the propaganda of the Party... Each Communist member must remember that he is not a 'legislator' who is bound to seek agreements with the other legislators, but an agitator of the Party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the Party there. The Communist member is answerable, not to the wide mass of his constituency, but to his own Communist Party only—whether lawful or unlawful."

In the above context, the failure of the CPI(M) leadership—then a part of the establishment in West Bengal—to prop up the armed insurrection in Naxalbari roused Peking's wrath. The CPI(M) eventually broke away from China. Peking adherents (Naxalites) on May Day, 1969, formed the third Communist party and called themselves the CPI (Marxist-Leninist). Peking also conferred recognition on the new party. However small a party may be, if it toes the Maoist line and follows the guerrilla movement, it is sure to get Chinese recognition.

The CPI and the CPI(M) started experiment in United Front with left-wing bias in Kerala and West Bengal as an alternative to the Congress. In other States, it was either a combination of right-wing parties or break-away groups from the Congress that came to power after the ouster of the Congress through the general election in 1967.

There is magic in the red colour. Red now rules the thoughts, moods and health of many political parties in West Bengal who swear by Marx and the Red Flag. Among these the dividing line is often hard to discern. If they have any-

thing in common, it is their total inability to get on with each other. They all agree that India needs a one-party proletarian dictatorship—but disagree on who should have the task of bringing this about.

A number of small parties existing only on paper joined the United Front and riding on the shoulders of their stronger partners managed to slip into the assembly and obtain a new lease of political life in West Bengal. Within a few weeks of the formation of the ministries, each party was making use of its position in the government to extend its base. This gave rise to a situation where the rivalry amongst constituent parties intensified. Their violent clashes and terrorism plagued the State followed by alternative period of crisis and patch-up.

Those parties which considered the Front as an instrument of struggle had the full knowledge that the UF would disintegrate in course of time, so they started exploiting the popular image of the Front to aggrandise their party influence at the shortest possible time. In this process, the CPI(M) expected a political atmosphere to be created in West Bengal when it could establish its absolute hegemony in the State to dictate further courses of action in accordance with its all-India perspective.

To the Marxists, the United Front was only a ruse to invite ambitious weaker parties into their parlour, strangle them one after another and ultimately to emerge as the sole dominant force in the political scene. The Marxist party has no faith in parliamentary democracy, the constitution, and democratic conventions except to the extent they would suit its hidden motives. Marxists want to use democracy and its process to subvert democracy from within, and they want the help of other parties in this job.

The CPI(M) wants to have its bread buttered on both sides by retaining its leaders in the ministry and, at the same time, maintaining the revolutionary tempo of their rank and file by allowing them to carry lathis, spears, arrows and bows in their mass rallies and indulge in violence to suppress internal class enemies without the restraint of the long arm of the police.

West Bengal under the United Front faced a problem of lawlessness, partly political, partly criminal, partly restlessness, particularly among students. The parties became a mixture of criminals and cadres and professed homicide to achieve party ends.

The origin of the trouble may be traced to the contradiction between the democratic and the Marxist approaches to social change.

But the Marxist leaders' obsession with elections to gain more seats in Parliament and State legislatures made it inevitable for them to work through the existing power structure and social framework insisting at the same time on their followers that the social change should have the appearance of an overthrow of the existing order by a forcible assertion of their rights which took the form of *gheraos* by workers and forcible occupation of farmlands by peasants.

The portfolios of Revenue and Home were held by Marxist Ministers. In spite of that without proceeding legally they allowed their party's peasant front to make forcible occupation of surplus and *benami* lands in the rural areas and distributed them among their own partymen. Some of the other parties in the United Front were not to be caught napping. They also did the same thing. There were clashes among the partners of the United Front for the possession of the same plot of land in some areas. The class struggle took the shape of local battles of rival parties—all swearing by Marx. Such clashes resulted in many deaths or murders. In the West Bengal Assembly, Jyoti Basu, the Deputy Chief Minister and Home Minister, admitted 100 deaths in such clashes.

Apart from the almost daily reports of violence and disorder, there was obviously an enigmatic situation in the State where the Chief Minister called his own government "barbarous and uncivilised."

The Chief Minister, Ajoy Mukherjee of the Bangla Congress, watched the situation with eagle eyes and started Gandhian

fast to isolate the CPI(M) and thus created an atmosphere for the peaceful imposition of President's Rule.

The hartal observed on March 17, 1970, by the CPI(M) following the imposition of President's Rule on West Bengal took a toll of 30 lives marked by cases of brutal assassinations.

Revengefulness raises avengers in the other clan. Having kept company with violence for long, the CPI(M) was now reaping the whirlwind. Abortive attempt was made to kill Jyoti Basu at Patna Railway station in Bihar on March 31, 1970. Mr. Basu *suspects foreign hands [CIA] operating behind the attempt on his life.*

However, two distinct trends emerged from the post-President's Rule thinking among the pro-CPI(M) and the other constituents of the UF

While the former emphasised that the centre should now arrange for fresh elections at the earliest, the other group contends: continue President's Rule for some time; restore rule of law and then give a chance to Bangla Congress to head a Ministry minus the CPI(M), although such a prospect is remote. (It may be noted that the West Bengal Assembly has been kept in suspended animation even after the introduction of President's Rule).

The salvation of Mrs. Gandhi's Congress in West Bengal, it is felt, lies only in its merger into the Bangla Congress. But will the Bangla Congress achieve the Herculean feat of keeping the CPI, the Forward Bloc, the SUC with it in alliance with the Congress ?

Marxist leaders had always said that the "people" were with them and that "they would not forgive the betrayers".

Nowadays God has been replaced by the "people" to swear by.

There are nearly 40 million people in West Bengal. Political

parties have appropriated them in their entirety and each claims to be their spokesman—the only vehicle of the people's desires and aspirations.

The stage has been reached where the people have become fed up with incessant struggles and political war cries, which took them nowhere.

The experiment of mini-front minus the CPI(M) that came into power in Kerala has cracked following dissensions among the constituent parties and the Front has opted for mid-term poll after dissolving the Assembly on June 26, 1970.

Having apparently failed to brow-beat the CPI-led Ministry in Kerala through lawlessness on the streets, the CPI(M) changed tactics in West Bengal to win over defectors from other camps with the bait of ministerial office. Immediately after the proclamation of President's Rule, Jyoti Basu and his CPI(M) applied the tactics in West Bengal and pressurised the Governor to entrust him to form the ministry when he frantically tried to win over disgruntled elements of the constituent parties to head a ministry. In spite of his left leanings the Governor refused to oblige him.

It was an amusing spectacle that while in West Bengal, clashes among the constituent parties sapped the very foundations of the United Front, in Kerala, for the first time in India's political history we witnessed an entire Cabinet in the dock and the Marxist-dominated United Front foundered on the rock of corruption charges. The CPI(M) Chief Minister, Mr. Namboodiripad, appointed a commission of enquiry against Ministers belonging to other parties and dissolved the whole Ministry to avoid probe into charges of corruption against his own Party Ministers.

The CPI(M) is grooming itself to rule the States of Kerala and West Bengal by coming at the top in the next polls, and two fronts, as I foresee, will function in the next election; one with the CPI(M) as the leading partner, the other with the CPI.

The prospect of the CPI forming a United Front with parties which believe in democracy, equality, freedom, social justice and nationalisation of economic power and the rule of law against the CPI(M)'s reign of terror and totalitarianism, cannot perhaps, be ruled out.

The leadership of the post-war mass upheaval in India never outgrew the inherent limitations of the Gandhian era. The Gandhi era was supplemented by the Nehru era; and that again is being followed by an Indira era. It seems the Communists or other parties, Right or Left, have not been able to make any dent into them.

That in the wake of the Presidential election in India on August 16, 1969, there should be a cleavage in the Congress was not necessarily an undesirable development in Indian politics. Indira's revolt against the rigid and inflexible party machine could have assumed the shape of a welcome reforming movement in which politics would supersede personalities. But the conflict leading to the ultimate bifurcation of the Congress has belied the expectation that under the leadership of Indira Gandhi the Congress was acquiring a new life.

It may be recalled how the great organisation, the Indian National Congress, had weathered without split such critical situations more than once before. Surat, Gaya and Tripuri are the landmarks where conflicts and clashes between ideologies and personalities became inevitable. There is a trite saying: The hour finds the man. The turn of the century found Aurobindo firing the emotion of the youth, and Tilak inspiring the intellect of the nation to accept the goal of Swaraj for national fulfilment. Gandhi appeared on the scene when the demand of the hour was to carry the message to the masses and lead them to victory. The nation liberated from the foreign yoke, turned to Nehru for establishing its national identity and to Sardar Patel for consolidation of the freedom gained. To integrate in less than three years the princely order comprising about 800 Native States with the rest of the country was itself a feat of highest order.

"You, Indians, are an amazing people", even Khrushchev commented. "How did you manage to liquidate princely rule without liquidating the Princes?", he asked our Ambassador in Moscow.

A viable parliamentary system usually postulates at least two main parties offering the voters a democratic alternative. In India we see a proliferating pattern of an almost bewildering multiplicity not so much of parties but of groups and splinters.

The Congress was the only political organisation whose potentiality, not only because of its comprehensive all-India character but for its 85 years of hoary tradition closely bound up with the masses, continuously nourished by the country's giants, was certainly enormous.

In its early years the Congress was an unabashed assembly of well-meaning moderates. They used to meet around Christmas to beseech His or Her Majesty's Government in London to be aware of India's "national ambitions" and to be increasingly associated with the governance of their country. Since then the Congress has successively petitioned, demanded, negotiated, and fought to attain its objectives responding continuously to changing situations and challenges. And in this process, its roots have penetrated even into the huts in the remotest rural areas. The nation, during the years of the struggle for independence, came to accept the Congress as the real representative of the aspirations of the people.

With opportunists outnumbering idealists, the pre-split Congress had no myth, no fabulous hero, no fanatical following.

Under the guidance of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress Party accepted the goal of socialism more than 15 years ago. At the Avadi session (Madras) in 1954, the Congress declared itself in favour of a "Socialistic pattern of society" where the decisive means of social production would be brought under public social ownership. At the Bhuvaneshwar session in 1964, immediately before Nehru's death, the Congress declared Democratic Socialism as its goal which meant ushering in socialism

by democratic and constitutional means. Behind the facade of socialism opportunities were, however, enlarged for monopolies to grow, and to enable the richer peasantry to frustrate land reforms.

The future of the Congress, as it could be judged from the 1967 general election results, became bleak.

It is a part of the process of democracy that a party which enjoyed unbridled power for an unbroken period of twenty years should lose strength, rouse discontent and disappoint democratic expectations. Moreover, with the declining participation of middle class cadres, professional politicians and businessmen dominated the party. This changed the character of the party, its style, its programme and its outlook. In some of the States alternatives to the Congress have emerged,—some Left and some Right—but they represent essentially regional parties—the CPI and the Jana Sangh in Northern India; the CPI(M) in West Bengal and Karela; the DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) in Tamil Nadu; the Swatantra in Orissa, Gujarat and Rajasthan. Smaller parties like the Akali Dal and others have mere pockets of influence here and there. They do not have a major significance in the central pattern. Rightist parties like the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh believe in the sanctity of the existing system of private property and in the efficacy of private enterprise. In addition the Jana Sangh puts greater emphasis on Indian culture and the conception of *Hindu Rashtra*.

In the context of the bewildering diversity of political groups and instability caused by the increasing phenomenon of purchasable political shuttlecocks, the democratic future of India was still linked with the Congress party.

The ideals of secular democracy symbolised by the parliamentary system are what the Congress party is firmly committed to.

One of the challenges to this system is the Communist parties who are committed to using the Constitution to destroy it as the parliamentary system represents for them an outworn, bourgeois concept.

The Congress still could, with the needed revitalization, take up the challenge to good effect—re-orientating its policy and practice giving it the required dynamic impulsion along the path of socialism, a historical inevitability born of the hopes of the masses. Vested interest must be jettisoned in the interest of its own future.

At the AICC session of November 1947, Mahatma Gandhi made a melancholy admission: "I can see that I carry nobody with me." He simply advised, "The best thing for the Congress would be to dissolve itself before the rot sets in further."

The prophet's warning has at long last prevailed and only critics will now say that the Congress party is still in existence, only bifurcated.

With the split in the Congress, single-party dominance over the Indian political scene has also come to an end.

Indian politicians today behave like chameleons: they change their face often and lose it oftener.

Political parties not commanding an absolute majority in legislatures any more, with a view to forming a government and keeping it going, entice members belonging to other parties to join them in unprincipled coalition governments. When these political overtures are not crowned with success President's rule, in the State is the obvious outcome.

All these phenomena are symptoms of political instability in the country—a reflection of a deep crisis of leadership and national character.

Members of the Nehru family developed for themselves a sort of a right to dynastic succession by virtue of their service and sacrifice. Gandhiji was a willing accomplice in this process and aided them to command the affection and esteem of the people.

Referring to the patriotic feat of her family Mrs. Gandhi:

said, "My grandfather, grandmother, father and mother had laid down their lives for the country."

No doubt they were illustrious warriors of freedom. But with a high sense of humour her father Jawaharlal, however, dismissed the idea that his family should be the object of hero-worship. He would say: "Hundreds and thousands in our own day in India have suffered, infinitely more even to the point of last sacrifice."

When Indira was born her grandmother was sorry, as all Indian grandmothers are, that it was not a boy. When Motilal Nehru heard it, he said, "You know I have made no difference between my son and my daughters. As far as I am concerned, I don't care whether I have a granddaughter; and in any case, this girl is going to be worth more than a thousand grandsons." Motilal Nehru was perhaps correct in his prophecy.

Mrs. Krishna Hutheesing in her book *We Nehrus* writes: "I remember that one evening when she (Indira) was eight or nine years old I saw her standing on the railing of our house clutching a pillar with one hand, the other raised high. She seemed to be muttering, so I went up to her and asked, 'What in the world are you trying to do?' She looked at me solemnly with her round little face ringed by jet-black hair and her dark eyes burning and said, 'I'm practising being Joan of Arc. I have just been reading about her, and some day I am going to lead my people to freedom just as Joan of Arc did.'"

Indira recently told an audience of girl students that Joan of Arc had been her heroine in life. She reminded them that her heroine was "arrested and burnt at the stakes." She added, "This is the fate which attends most people who want to do something big for the sake of the country. We must all decide what is more important to us. If the country is great, then we should not be afraid to be burnt at the stakes or undergo some punishment."

Indira was born and brought up in an atmosphere of intense political and patriotic activity.

In spite of her chequered schooling at Poona, Santiniketan and Oxford, the series of letters which her illustrious father wrote from prison which were later published as *Letters from a Father to a Daughter* and *Glimpses of World History* opened a new vista of vision and thought to her. In spite of her patrician descent she displayed rare social courage in marrying Feroz Gandhi—a Parsee—and broke the honeymoon by courting imprisonment in the “Quit India” movement. In 1959, she was elected President of the Indian National Congress and with the aid of local agitation toppled the Namboodiripad Ministry in Kerala—where the Communists had come to power for the first time in the history of the world through the ballot box.

Jawaharlal Nehru during his unfettered regime of eighteen years as the Prime Minister of India did not explicitly choose any one as his successor, though Lal Bahadur Sastri was his close associate. The 18-month tenure of Lal Bahadur as the Prime Minister came to an abrupt end with his tragic death at Taskent. By that time Indira was already in the field as a lineal descendant of Nehru with the added experience as Minister for Information and Broadcasting, which sufficiently built her image. The king-makers, consisting of small men trying to look big in the name and style of Syndicate, and afraid of the tough Morarji, chose her to be the leader believing that she would play to their tune. But they did not find it easy to keep the “young girl” under their control. After the fourth general election Congress majority at the Centre was reduced and non-Congress governments were ushered in half of the States in the country. Her ability was put to the test in her dealings with the non-Congress Ministries of which two were ultra-red. She stood it successfully.

She stated, “I have become the symbol of people’s policies and vested interests are likely to be after my blood. I might be ousted in the war of haves and have-nots, but man’s physical body could be exterminated but not the ideas. The people carried aloft the torch of the martyrs, and victory was always on the side of the people and justice.”

Mrs. Gandhi had realised that the people were losing faith

in the Congress resolutions because they were not being implemented. She observed, "The slogan of socialism has been rather overworked. Socialism should no longer be a slogan, but an effective tool to change the society." She believes "the Congress has not enhanced its utility."

Her confrontation with party bosses reached a climax with the summary removal of Morarji Desai from the Cabinet and nationalisation of the fourteen big banks. She proved to be a surprise to her adversaries. Though she filed the nomination papers of N. Sanjeeva Reddy she saw to it that V. V. Giri was elected President of India.

Mrs. Gandhi's role in bringing about the defeat of Sanjeeva Reddy after having herself filed his nomination has no parallel in democracy.

In contrast, her father twice bowed to the majority verdict in the selection of Rajendra Prasad for the Presidency for two terms in preference to his choice of C. Rajagopalachari.

Why did she not try to muster majority in the Congress Party and have her voice prevailed instead of having a parallel Congress ?

The Congress split is now complete and formal, and the battle for the control of the party machinery is being joined at the grassroot level.

The plenary session of the Indira Congress, held in Bombay during Christmas week in 1969 was primarily meant to give the Party a left-of-centre programme and to establish, thereby, its credentials as a party of progress.

The rationale of Mrs. Gandhi's charge that the old guard had tried to block implementation of her father's policies, and that this had forced the party split, depended on the new party finding for itself a radical *elan* and spelling out steps to implement programmes that were alleged to have been scuttled by others.

The rival "Organisation Congress", which had met earlier at Ahmedabad, had virtually challenged Mrs. Gandhi to implement the 10-point programme.

The hardliners in Mrs. Gandhi's camp think that M.P.s now with the Syndicate could cross over. The Syndicate, however, thinks that any radical economic policy measure would cost her a good number of M.P.s and when she cannot provide jobs for all the aspirants in her group, defections to the Syndicate might begin in a big way. The Syndicate hopes to muster up strength, eventually to overthrow Mrs. Gandhi's Government.

Indira is anxious to function as a people's Prime Minister. Both factions of the Congress are still stronger than any other political party and are, therefore, more capable of weakening each other. At no time has the Government at the Centre been threatened so seriously as it is now.

The Indira Congress favours an "opening" to Communists not their inclusion in a coalition government, but their acceptance as a parliamentary party whose support on certain specified and limited subject is indispensable to the continuance of the Indira Ministry. To accept even partial Communist support will be a step on a slippery slope.

An authoritative Soviet article (by Modeste Rubinstein) in the journal *New Times*, Nos. 28 and 32 in 1956 wanted to suggest that Jawaharlal Nehru, and not the C. I., would lead India into the socialist camp. Similarly Anastas Mikoyan (former President of the USSR) noted the "progressive role of State capitalism in India" and declared that the "socialist" inclination of the national bourgeoisie of Asian countries should be relied upon to facilitate the gradual slide of these countries into the Communist orbit.

The December 6, 1960 Moscow Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of eighty-one Communist parties put forward the concept of "national democracy"—a transitional form of Government between bourgeois nationalism and socialism. Such a national democracy will fight against im-

perialism and the "penetration" of imperialist capital and reject Western aid in favour of Soviet aid, undertake agrarian reform and allow Communists a prominent, though not the leading, role in policy-making.

In this perspective, the line to be taken by Communists to Indira and her Government has assumed importance now. Indira has the greatest advantage of acceptability to the left forces also. When she has split the Congress, she will be dependent on the Left parties for her survival as Prime Minister. Communist and other Left-wing groups supported Indira in winning V. V. Giri's election as President. Although the United Fronts have collapsed in Kerala and West Bengal, the Communists are dreaming of a United Front at the Centre in 1972, or even earlier. The Communist parties, and for that matter, Left groups, may now demand that Indira should replace the reactionary and vacillating Central Government with a government of national democratic forces which, in turn, will facilitate a rapid and peaceful transition to socialism in India.

Excepting for the group committed to the revolutionary doctrines of Mao Tse-tung, such a turn of events is undoubtedly nearer to the heart of the Right Communists and the Soviet Union.

But Indira's political flirtations with the Communists may force her to play the role of Kerensky. In this connection the remark of Lenin that he supported Henderson by his vote as the rope supported a man who was being hanged is significant. Lenin said, "I want to support Henderson with my vote in the same way as a rope supports one who is hanged....." (*Left Wing Communism : An Infantile Disorder*).

British Communists, when forming their new party, asked Lenin what their attitude towards the Labour Party and its leader, Arthur Henderson, should be. He advised them to "march together" with the Labour Party to gain support from the masses and, at the same time, discredit and destroy the Labour leaders, who had responded to the appeal of unity for the defeat of a common political enemy.

The Marxist Communists blame the Communist Party of India for its support to Mrs. Gandhi and see in it an indication of their abandonment of the "revolutionary path". They refuse to submit to any Soviet dictation as, they claim, the CPI has done.

Nagi Reddy, Andhra leader of the fourth Communist group, attacked both the CPI and the CPI(M) for "playing second fiddle to the Prime Minister" and becoming victims of her "disruptionist tactics". Nagi Reddy's group, known as the Committee of Andhra Revolutionary Communists, initially, directed the armed struggle in Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh adjoining Orissa. He was expelled from the All-India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, now known as CPI (M-L), on the ground that he differed with them on the evaluation of the raids on police stations in Kerala. In 1968, two police stations were attacked by Kerala extremists. After Peking Radio had given support to them, the Revolutionary Co-ordination Committee, of which Charu Majumdar was the theoretical exponent, followed suit acclaiming the incidents as revolutionary peasant struggle. Later, it was learnt from the *Liberation*, a monthly organ of CPI(M-L) that Nagi Reddy had differed with the Chinese evaluation of Kerala raids.

The Communist revolutionaries led by T. Nagi Reddy insist on certain pre-conditions for an armed struggle, unlike the Naxalites.

Reddy says that the low morale of Indian armed forces, the split in the ruling classes, instable administration in many States, increasing clashes between people and the Government are some of the specific conditions favourable to take the country on the path of liberation through armed struggle.

Working class should establish hegemony by practical leadership. This should be done by organising political struggles, economic struggles leading to political struggles, struggles in defence of peasant struggles and the armed struggle.

Describing "agrarian revolution" as the "axis of people's democratic revolution" the Party document of Reddy says: "While explaining to rural masses that armed struggle is the only way to emancipation from feudal and semi-feudal oppression, we should resort to all forms of mobilisation of the peasantry and agricultural labourers."

Warning against the onslaught of the Government on such struggles the document urges that these struggles and organisation be built up in such a way as to meet the repression.

"While organising all these struggles," the document says, "party should aim at taking them to higher level for which masses have to be prepared at every stage. When conducted in such a way, many of these struggles will take to higher forms, especially that of armed struggle."

Reddy developed his own line of action in Telengana and in his home district Anantapur, distinct from that of the CPI(M-L)'s, viz., attack on individual landlords, bypassing of confrontation with the police as far as possible, accent on mobilisation of masses, initially at least, through economic agitations. Many erstwhile Naxalites in West Bengal agree with his contention that mass organisational work is needed to build up a revolutionary base.

These Maoists say that the CPI(M-L), though claiming to be a Maoist party and though recognised by Peking, is closer to Che Guevara's line of revolution than to the Maoist line.

For instance, the CPI(M-L) believes in immediate armed struggle in India and thinks that the situation is ready for immediate revolution. Secondly, it rejects the role of mass organisations and considers that a secret party is enough. It thinks that the cities are areas of "white terror" and the party should work only among the peasantry and finally the country-side would encircle the cities, as Mao has taught.

Leaders of these groups, who have pronounced disagreement with the CPI(M-L), both on political and programmatical

issues, discussed the main political thesis and agreed to form a United Front of Communist Revolutionaries (UFCR) at a series of meetings held in Calcutta in April, 1970. The participating group leaders, it was gathered, agreed not to form any new Communist party, but to operate on a co-ordinated basis for implementation of an agreed programme.

Generally speaking, this UFCR will strive to achieve the objective of making the peasantry politically conscious about seizure of power through armed struggle. Politically, this will work for developing the leadership of working class for such a struggle.

At an All-India secret session of the Party Congress of the CPI(M-L) held in the middle of May 1970 at an undisclosed place near Gauhati in Assam the basic programme of the party as decided at the instance of Charu Majumder, is the complete overthrow of the "rule of the bureaucratic comprador bourgeoisie and the big feudal landlord classes, the agents and lackeys of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism and establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bureaucratic comprador bourgeoisie and the big feudal landlord classes." The ultimate aim of the party is the realisation of socialism and Communism.

To overthrow the rule of the above enemies of the people, the CPI(M-L) places the path of armed struggle before the Indian people. It rejects the parliamentary path for the whole of the strategic period.

The Party Congress set some rigid rules for party membership. The membership would be open to working class, toiling masses, peasantry, revolutionary middle class or any other revolutionary element who would be ready to go to rural areas for rousing the peasant masses for agrarian revolution any moment when directed by the unit to do so. Organisationally, the party would follow the principle of democratic centralism.

Since the first war of independence in 1857, the political report of the Party said, India had witnessed innumerable armed peasants' revolts. These revolts failed as there was no scientific

theory and revolutionary leadership capable of leading them to victory. The Indian bourgeoisie comprador in nature intervened to divert the national liberation struggle from the path of revolution to the path of compromise and surrender.

Beginning from the Champaran peasants' struggle the Gandhian leadership of the comprador bourgeoisie with its ideology of "ahimsa," satyagraha, passive resistance and charkha sought to tailor the national movement to serve the interests of the British imperialist rule and their feudal lackeys.

Referring to the Communist Party of India the report said, "Despite tremendous opportunity the leadership of the working class could not be established over the national liberation struggle as the leadership of the party refused to fight Gandhism and the Gandhian leadership and take to the path of revolution. The leadership refused to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of Indian revolution. It refused to integrate the party with the heroic masses, chiefly the revolutionary peasantry and forge a revolutionary United Front.

It refused to learn from the great national liberation struggle of the Chinese people led by the CPC and the Chairman Mao and take to the path of armed struggle. On the contrary it consciously trailed behind the pro-imperialist bourgeois leadership of the Congress and betrayed the revolution.

In the post-1947 period big bourgeoisie and the big landlord ruling classes mortgaged the country to the imperialist powers, mainly, US imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists. Thus, India was turned into a neo-colony of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. Ruthless exploitation and oppression by these forces of the Indian people created unprecedented miseries and sufferings. Millions are struggling on the brink of death, several millions go hungry, naked, houseless and unemployed.

In brief, out of all major contradictions in our country the one between the landlords and the peasantry, that is, the

contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of Indian people is the principal contradiction in the present phase. The resolution of this contradiction will lead the Indian people to the resolution of all other contradictions too.

The political document then described what it called the "octopus grip" over India's economy by the US and the Soviet social imperialists. The hard facts irrefutably prove the semi-colonial character of our society besides its semifeudal character. Therefore, the basic task of the Indian Revolution is to eliminate feudalism, bureaucrat capitalism and imperialism. This determines the stage of our revolution. Our country is in the stage of democratic revolution, the essence of which is agrarian revolution.

The document said that it would not be the old type of revolution but a new type of people's democratic revolution as it forms a part of the world socialist revolution and as such can be successfully led by the working class alone and by no other class. The working class is the most revolutionary class and the most organised advanced detachment of our people.

This revolution will establish the dictatorship of the workers, peasants, petty-bourgeoisie and even a section of the small and middle bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class who together with the peasantry constitute the overwhelming majority of the Indian people. It will be a state guaranteeing democracy for 90 per cent of the people and enforcing dictatorship over a handful of enemies. That is why it is the people's democracy. Thus in order to carry the democratic revolution through to the end it is necessary that a democratic front of all these classes be built up under the leadership of the working class. This front however can only be built up when worker-peasant unity is achieved in the process of armed struggle and after real political power is established at least in some parts of the country.

The path of India's revolution being the path of people's war, the working class would wage successfully a people's war by creating small bases of armed struggle all over the country and consolidating the political power of the people by way of

developing guerrilla warfare which is and will remain the basic form of struggle throughout the entire period of our democratic revolution.

Guerrilla warfare alone can unleash the initiative and the creative genius of the Indian people to perform miracles, to function in various ways, effectively co-ordinate them and thus expand the small bases of armed struggle to mighty waves of people's army by which the reactionary rule of the four mountains will be overthrown from the countryside, the cities encircled and captured and people's democratic dictatorship established all over the country and resolutely carry it forward to socialism.

Such a State will carry out the following major tasks :

(a) Confiscation of all banks and enterprises of foreign capital, and liquidation of all imperialist assets.

(b) Confiscation of all the enterprises of the comprador bureaucrat capitalists.

(c) Confiscation of all land belonging to the landlords or rich peasants on the principle of land to the tillers ; cancellation of all debts of the peasantry and the other toiling people. All facilities necessary for the development of agriculture to be guaranteed.

(d) Enforce eight-hour day, increase wages, institute unemployment relief and social insurance, remove all inequalities on the basis of equal pay for equal work.

(e) Improve the living conditions of soldiers and give lands and jobs to ex-servicemen.

(f) Enforce better living conditions and employment for the people.

(g) Abolish caste system, remove all social inequalities and end all discrimination on religious grounds, guarantee equality of status to Indian womanhood.

(h) Unify India and recognise the right of national self-determination.

(i) Abolish all exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous assessments and adopt a consolidated progressive tax system.

(j) Administration to be carried out by forming Revolutionary People's Committees at all levels.

(k) Alliance to be formed with the International proletariat and the oppressed nations of the world under the leadership of the CPC.

The biggest Maoist base in India is the 800 square miles tribal forest tract in Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh. Charu Mazumdar claims that "Red Power" has emerged in Srikakulam, and Srikakulam is India's Yenan.

The movement has now spread to at least four other districts in Andhra Pradesh and to the adjoining forest areas in Koraput district in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. North Bihar, the Terai region, Lakhimpur district in Uttar Pradesh and Midnapore district in West Bengal are some of the Maoist pockets where the movement is intense and powerful because the land and unemployment problems have become pronounced in these areas.

Just as Peking regards the CPI(M-L) as the only legitimate Communist Party in India, Moscow considers the CPI as the only genuine Communist Party. But of late, there has been an anxiety on Moscow's part to confer limited recognition on the CPI(M) by accepting it as a "parallel Communist Party." Russia also wants the CPI to explore possibilities of joint action with the CPI(M).

The leadership of the CPI(M) wants to work as a revolutionary force within the four walls of the Constitution. A time may come when the potentiality of the leadership as a revolutionary force will be exhausted and the mood of violence, which grips CPI(M) followers, may then compel them to break away from the party and join the Naxalites.

Moreover, the swing between quasi-parliamentary and quasi-revolutionary strategies has already frustrated its student cadres, many of whom eye with jealousy the courage and sacrifices of Naxalite students who are taking away the wind out of the CPI(M)'s sail.

The prospect of a mid-term poll being remote in West Bengal and the two by-election results in Kerala in which CPI(M) nominees have been defeated, being disappointing, a section of sincere party workers is no more inclined to indulge in the politics of ministry-making and favour the idea of merging in CPI(M-L).

Curiously, armed peasant struggle developed more rapidly in the Congress-controlled Andhra and U.P. and the Presidentially ruled Bihar instead of in Kerala and West Bengal where Communist Fronts had been in power. Is there any truth in the Leninist thesis that the Fronts in which socialists are accommodated serve the bourgeoisie better? By giving certain economic concessions, for instance, the increased Dearness Allowance to State employees and fallow lands to peasants, are not the CPI(M) and the CPI stemming the tide of dissatisfaction among the masses, which, otherwise, could have been directed towards a revolution? These are the questions now being discussed by the intelligentsia who are committed to the Communist cause. In fact, the two principal Communist parties show all the signs of the malaise that have afflicted the West European Communist parties: bureaucracy, rigidity of control and, above all, slow transformation to a corporation—a business concern running a chain of book stalls, publishing several dailies and magazines and maintaining hundreds of regularly paid staff.

The Communist Party (Marxist) is also now friendless in the international Communist movement, with Moscow backing the CPI and Peking the Naxalites. Soviet attempts to repair the rift between the CPI and CPI(M) have, so far, borne no fruit. The three top Left Communist leaders—E. M. S. Namboodiripad, P. Sundarayya and Promode Das Gupta—will attend the forthcoming Communist Party Congresses in North Korea and North Vietnam. Both North Korea and North Vietnam, as could be gathered from recent indications, have been keeping equidistant from Moscow and Peking. Importance is attached to the close relations that have recently developed between North Korea and Cuba. Interference in the affairs of other countries by giant Communist powers in the

name of universalism of Marxism is resented by many small countries.

In the above background, considerable significance is attached to the Indian Marxist leaders' projected visit to Pyongyang and Hanoi. Some people are beginning to think whether a third bloc of Communist countries, free from directions from Moscow or Peking is in the offing and the visit of the three Marxist leaders is meant to find friends outside India.

The fact is, Indian Communists have broken up into contending partners. Naxalites open the door to the Chinese danger, whereas the 'national' character of the CPI(M) leadership is in line with the constitutional methods certified by Khrushchev in 1956, at the same time, laying emphasis on the creation of a mass party identifying itself with the peasants as laid down by Mao Tse-tung.

The revolution in India cannot succeed as no single Marxist Party can exercise the role of leader and organiser of the revolution. The only radicalism that is relevant to India today, is an economic policy that can find jobs for the people, provide basic amenities to them and translate political and legal equality into social and economic equality.

Modern technology with organisation, skill and sophisticated technique can provide people in underdeveloped countries with a variety of new possibilities of economic break-through. The Organisation Congress, the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party may forge electoral alliances and follow a programme to banish poverty by sophistication of industry and increasing the volume of output and reducing the disparities among the classes. This pattern of socialism by social control may be an alternative to socialism of the Left forces in the Marxist-Leninist model.

Experts reckon there are 20,000 Naxalites which include highly educated young men and women. Armed peasant struggle by the Naxalites will be a seven-day wonder without the active intervention of China and has no chance of developing into a nation-wide civil war. It will be more adventurous and intellec-

tual than proletarian and far away from a peasant revolution. But if the Naxalites are able to link up their movements with the tribal sharpshooters in the north-east, India, no doubt, will have a major revolt on its hands.

If India is hostile to the West and China and her policy does not affect the strategic balance of Soviet power, CPI politics, with the endorsement of the CPSU, is unlikely to cause any alarm. If, without splitting the Congress, had Indira reorientated its policies and created favourable conditions for politically rehabilitating it in the confidence of the masses, she could have the pleasure of sitting, as in the Chinese proverb, "on the mountain top and watch the tigers fighting".

The conjecture that the quarrel which has put an end to the absolute Congress power at the Centre may be the sign of an increasing polarisation of Indian politics into two camps, is far from correct.

Rather, the country is now beset with a disintegrated ruling party and with politicians subscribing to a policy that places a group before the country and an individual before the group. We might now witness the sorry spectacle of instability, chaos and violence ruling the country. After the next election, whether mid-term or general, different political parties will run different States, and the Centre ruled by a coalition may not be strong enough to control them and some States may even agitate to sever ties with the rest of India.

A troublesome factor, of course, in the current stage of history is the Sino-Soviet conflict when the competing Communist powers—Russia and China—may each try to have India within its orbit, the former by diplomatic offensive and the latter by implanting revolution.

11

**BREAD AND
BUTTER
DIPLOMACY**

In the final analysis we cannot talk our way out of poverty ; we cannot legislate our way out of poverty ; but this nation can work its way out of poverty. The task of this Government the great task of our people is to provide the training for work, the incentive to work, the opportunity to work and the reward for work.....poverty will not be defeated by a stroke of a pen signing a cheque ; it will not be reduced to nothing overnight with slogans or ringing exhortations. Poverty is not only a state of income. It is also a state of mind and a state of health. Poverty must be conquered without sacrificing the will to work.

—President Nixon

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But even the most powerful dictatorships, regardless of the ideologies and power mechanisms on which they are based, have fallen when they represented an obstacle to economic and cultural development. Sooner or later the forces of economic development will make itself felt.

—Ota Sik's Thesis
Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia
in Alexander Dubcek's Government.

In an age when man has walked on the moon and is reaching still farther into space, he has yet to conquer the destitution, hunger, ignorance and disease which afflict two-thirds of his fellow-men on his own planet.

The attempt to bring a greater degree of economic and social progress to all men has emerged as one of the dominant themes of our times. Low-income countries face the acute challenge—and the extent to which this challenge is met will influence the course of history of these countries in the decades to come.

Frank Buchman, who has built the force of Moral Re-armament to make a new world run by men governed by God, once said: "There is enough in the world for everybody's need but not for everybody's greed." This diagnosis of the strange disease from which mankind is suffering was confirmed by a NAFEN correspondent's despatch from New York on April 4, 1970.

"The spectre of the real evil of capitalism—agricultural overproduction—has reappeared in Canada and America," he said. "In Canada, Ottawa has taken the unusual action of offering her farmers \$ 100,000,000 for not growing wheat this year. Across the border, in the United States, potato farmers in the state of Idaho are systematically destroying their bumper potato crops to force market prices up." Recently a two-mile-long caravan of potato farmers drove through the Idaho potato district deliberately destroying their crops. More than 3,000,000 lbs. of potatoes were dumped and burnt at one site.

Yet too many people in the world will not get enough to eat and many of them will frequently go hungry throughout their lives.

In the past, much of the surplus from the USA was shipped abroad under the PL-480 programme to various parts of

developing Africa and Asia. However, with the "green revolution," succeeding in the Afro-Asian world, the problem of surplus food in the West has grown immeasurably.

The green revolution, which is a welcome development in Asia, has taken place in several developing countries including India, Taiwan, Mexico and the Philippines. Quite a few persons believe that the revolution has been made possible by the comparatively favourable weather conditions of the last two years and not by capitalist aid incentives to those countries.

Another important aspect of the green revolution is that it has benefited merely the large farmers. India's Home Minister apprehends that the green revolution, if not accompanied with social changes, may turn into a red one.

It remains a serious matter that the world depends for the survival of its millions upon three capitalist countries—United States, Canada and Australia. Chronic food shortages in the Soviet Union and China indicate that revolution by itself cannot bring faster economic growth. Communist economics has failed to solve the basic problem of food. Many experiments are attempted only to fail in turn, leading back to a power-shift at the political centre.

Widely propagating Mao's saying that "poverty is good" and the idea that raising living standards is a "bourgeois" urge, China is more concerned in the development of nuclear rocket and such industries which Mao considers vital for China's great power status.

The Soviet Communist Party chief, Mr. Brezhnev, in a nationally televised speech on April 13, 1970, complained of "serious shortcomings" in the Soviet economy and gave Soviet workers a stern warning that the present labour productivity—the output of each man per hour—"cannot be considered satisfactory." "This is often connected with drunkenness and irresponsibility," he said.

Mr. Brezhnev quoted no less an authority than Lenin,

for the view that in the long run labour productivity would decide the economic superiority of capitalism or Communism.

Lenin told workers : "The capitalist was able to supply things—are you ? You are unable to do so... they are operating as robbers, they make profit ; but they are skilful. But you ? You make no profit....your correct principles, your ideals are splendid they are so beautifully written that you deserve to be living saints in heaven—but can you do business ?" (*Report of the Central Committee*, March 27, 1922).

"It is precisely in this sphere that the centre of gravity of the competition between the two systems lies in our time," Mr. Brezhnev declared.

Academician Tigran Khachaturov, a leading Soviet economist, blames failure to master the techniques of economic management as one of the main reasons for a slow-down in the growth of the economy in Russia.

Mr. Brezhnev also took up the theme of management, which he said was turning into a science which "should be mastered as quickly as possible, and it should be studied incessantly."

Writing in *Pravda*, the Communist Party daily, Academician Khachaturov also called for more skilled workers. He cited by way of example a Moscow factory where untrained workers had to be used to do the work of highly skilled lathe operators. By contrast there were other plants with too many workers.

It has to be admitted that poor amenities have always acted as a brake on production in Soviet factories.

At the Kramatorsk Lathe-Building Factory, for example, there are no fewer than 35 workers for each seat in the canteen. Because of the shortage of places and badly organised service some factories must spread the lunch break over three hours or more, which means that some workers must take their midday meal in the morning, shortly after their arrival at

work, while others lunch shortly before they are due to go home at the end of the day. Trade Union officials are quite concerned about these deficiencies, and point out that "people are under conditions which, to put it mildly, leave much to be desired. We turn a blind eye to this fact." (*Trud*, December 26, 1968).

In the Soviet Union agriculture remains the heel of Achilles of the economy. Mismanagement of the agriculture sector was cited as one of Khrushchev's crimes for pushing him out. There is again a hint of a major shake-up sizzling in the pressure cooker of the Kremlin owing to the poor state of the country's economy and shortfalls in agricultural production.

Farm output in the Soviet's East European bloc declined by about one per cent in 1969.

In the northern tier of countries—Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Poland—the hardest hit crops were potatoes and sugarbeet—the staple crops.

In the southern tier, consisting of Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania (and also Yugoslavia), there were signs of recovery compared to 1968 but not enough to offset the lower production figures for the northern countries.

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, Mr. Gomulka had not only to admit the complete failure of last year's economic plan, but also the early breakdown of this year's plan, since its necessary prerequisites could not be created last year.

Among the party members this failure is being increasingly ascribed to the "orthodox, dogmatic" elements among the leaders. Even the pro-Gomulka Warsaw newspaper, *Polityka*, criticized the attitude of the "dogmatists," "whose concepts prevent all individual initiatives from being put into practice in the economy."

Sugar seems to have gone sour in Mr. Castro's Cuba.

Having earlier set a production target for 1969 of 10 million tons of sugar, Mr. Castro realized that fulfilment of this target was not possible. He laid the blame on himself and said: "It is not the people but we, the leaders, the officials, the administrators that have failed". Mr. Castro's supporters went ecstatic over the way in which the leader exonerated the people from guilt; the target was reduced to 9 million tons. But when Mr. Castro discovered that even the reduced target was not going to be fulfilled, he burst into a torrent of abuse against Cuban workers: "Irresponsible", "idle", "incompetent", were some of the milder words used by Guba's dictator against his people.

Sugar production suffered because the workers were not properly trained to handle the sophisticated machinery imported from Russia and the East European countries. The machines continually broke down and the planners had not the resources or the know-how for repairing them. There was also a breakdown of the transport system.

On the threshold of 1970, Soviet scholars expressed their doubts whether the inevitable collapse of capitalism and world victory of Communism could any longer be considered axiomatic. Because, they fear, the "expertocracy" can become a real tragedy for workers as "new ruling capitalist groups, emerging from the scientific intelligentsia and the political elite, consolidate themselves at the summits of power" (Academician F. Kedrov, in the journal *Veprosy filosofii*, No. 57, 1969, p. 40)

The American economist and former Ambassador to India, Mr. J. K. Galbraith, said that in the next 10 years, "all 'isms' may become outdated. Both in the Communist and non-Communist countries, gradually the technical personnel are taking over the control of things."

Newly liberated Afro-Asian States have become an arena of intense struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union representing two opposite approaches—capitalist and Communist—to liquidate economic backwardness.

The Soviet Union grants economic and technological aid to developing nations to strengthen the world socialist system whereas the USA and other Western nations advance aid to the former colonies to keep them within the orbit of the capitalist economic system.

Not that Mao's China has no role to play in the fray. The principal motivating force of Red Chinese aid is, however, not economic but Communist subversion and insurgency. China has been financing projects in Pakistan, Nepal and in many African countries. But these projects are only a cover for its Trojan horse tactics ultimately to subvert either the regime of aid-receiving countries or their neighbours.

Mao's missionaries as advisers and technicians indoctrinate people, train up guerrillas, smuggle arms and implant revolution.

Relying on the support of the "reactionary" elements of a country, imperialist nations use "aid" to reforge new links with countries where formerly colonialists ruled the roost. They secure favourable conditions for private capital to penetrate and strengthen its position and retain capitalist production relations on a national scale within the framework of a world capitalist economy. Politically, imperialist powers use 'aid' to bring pressure, carry on espionage and undermine the national independence of the developing nations. This is called neo-colonialism.

Soviet aid, on the other hand, is planned exclusively to help the "public (nationalised) sector" of the economy of the aid-receiving country. In this way, it tends to curb the growth of private enterprise and eliminate the business class as a whole and help the growth in the size of the working class to take part in alliance with the peasantry in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle, pave the way for the eventual establishment of a government under Communist control and complete the national liberation struggle. According to the Soviet Union, as long as economic dependence on imperialism is not ended, a country is not truly independent.

Unpalatable though, the fact still remains that during the initial stages of economic development foreign aid has got to be tolerated. It is futile merely to shout against it. In the 30's Moscow overlooked the seeming paradox of doing business with capitalist countries and made it a part of its New Economic Policy (NEP) to grant concessions to foreign capitalists. Thus an Anglo-American group was given one of the largest concessions for the exploitation of gold fields in the Lena River region of Siberia. The Averell-Harriman interests were given an equally large concession for the development of manganese mining in Georgia. Japanese firms were given concessions for the exploitation of oil wells and coal mines in North Sakhalin in 1925.

Though Soviet achievements in space, in weaponry, or in the magnitude of overall industrial growth, have been extraordinary, superiority of Communism cannot be claimed even after 50 years in respect of technologically advanced products or in satisfying more than rudimentary needs of domestic consumption in the Soviet Union. Interesting to note in this connection is Moscow's invitation to Henry Ford to visit the Soviet Union during Lenin centenary. In automobile production, the Soviet Union is seeking Henry Ford's help.

In order to accomplish the execution of big and important economic ventures, Russia is also seeking help of the Western capitalist countries and Japan. To exploit the huge wealth of Siberia, perhaps the most neglected area in the Soviet Union, Kremlin has sought the help of Tokyo. Ideology has ceased to count, it seems, for, as Gunther noted, those who control the destiny of Russians are technocrats rather than hard-boiled Marxists.

Indeed, modern industrial society is characterised by a technical approach to nature and reality. The first requirements for such an approach are efficiency and qualified management. general ideological principles are cast aside.

From the shambles and ashes of the Second World War, two giant economies have risen in Europe and Asia. The economic

miracle achieved by these two nations of the West and the East has stemmed from their acceptance of aid from the United States.

West Germany accepted Marshall Aid and allowed its security to be safeguarded by the U.S.A. Japan also allowed the stationing of American troops as a bulwark against a Communist takeover.

Although they had suffered defeat in the hands of the U.S.A., they were sternly realistic and took full advantage of the victor's offer for military and economic assistance and got their shattered economy reconstructed. Both countries are sheltered under the nuclear umbrella of the U.S.A. and have insignificant military expenses of their own.

Soviet material assistance played a crucial role in Chinese industrialisation.

Political freedom by itself does not solve economic and social problems facing a developing country. To improve the standard of living tremendous capital investment is required. It is not easy for an underdeveloped country to amass such capital. There is also a want of technical specialists and trained personnel.

Underdeveloped countries thus faced with the need of seeking aid from affluent industrialised countries, insist on absence of political strings. Traditional charitable concepts are also obsolete and corrupting.

Foreign aid has been a most important part of India's resources for planning but from the beginning Prime Minister Nehru had been firm in his declaration that India would accept no aid with political strings. The nations which have been giving aid have also been declaring that they have no political motives in giving aid.

Actually, the truth has been somewhere between. While altruism and the desire to promote India's prosperity have been present, strategic and political considerations and economic ideology have also played their part in the quantum, manner and conditions of aid given by the various countries.

India's dependence on external aid has increased continuously in spite of the professions of our leaders to the opposite effect. External assistance to public sector investments on Plan projects rose from 10 per cent in the First Plan to 24 per cent in the Second and 29.3 per cent in the Third Plan. The entire foreign exchange component of Plan projects during the Third Plan was financed by external assistance and this is expected to increase in the Fourth Plan.

Since 1951 when the USA first extended economic assistance to India in the form of a loan to purchase two million tons of wheat, the total U.S. support to various aspects of this country's development programme amounted to Rs. 7,005.15 crores till the end of January 1970.

Slightly over one-fifth of this total aid represents grants, while loans repayable in rupee convertible to dollars at the U.S. Government's option are 3.3%; local currency repayments, including the amounts under PL 480 over 44% and loans repayable in dollars 32%. This has made the USA a bigger provider of aid—both in the amount authorized and in aid utilized—than all the other aid-giving countries put together.

Some of the development programmes which have attracted the U.S. assistance relate to such aspects of agriculture as new seeds : rice research ; research on pulses ; import and production of fertilizers ; soil and water management ; agricultural universities and research ; and to education ; management ; health, nutrition and family planning ; labour, transportation, particularly the railways, industries and power development.

During the last 17 years, the USA has made available machinery, component spare parts, raw material and other industrial supplies valued at over Rs. 1,725 crores to modernise and expand Indian industries. In recent years, however, a substantial part of the U.S. aid to India has been in the form of non-project loans, the total of which, since the beginning of the aid programme, is estimated at Rs. 1,500 crores.

Soviet-Indian economic co-operation began in 1955. The Soviet Union is rendering India technical assistance in the cons-

truction and expansion of 65 major industrial, agricultural, scientific and educational projects in the State sector, out of which nearly 30 have been fully or partially commissioned. Among them are the Bhilai Steel Plant, the Heavy Machine-Building complex at Ranchi, the Mining and Allied Machinery plant at Durgapur, the Heavy Electrical plant in Hardwar, the oil refineries in Barauni and Koyali, the thermal power station in Neyveli, the Bhakra hydro-power station, the surgical instruments plant at Madras, coal mining and other projects. More than 26,000 Soviet-made tractors are working on Indian fields. The Soviet Union has also rendered technical assistance for setting up a steel plant at Bokaro. The foundation for blast furnace at Bokaro has already been laid.

To render technical and economic assistance the Soviet Union has given India long-term credit amounting to 1,227 million roubles or Rs. 1,022 crores till the end of 1968.

In aid dealings with India Russia has been no less business-minded than the capitalist countries. A Soviet technician in a public sector project in India gets $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the salary of the President of India. Employed in 13 public sector projects there are altogether 940 Soviet engineers and their total emoluments come to Rs. 12.5 crores a month.

Right now India is not only concerned with the spectre of a number of rapidly increasing, unemployed engineers in the country but also not-so-sound footing of industrial base in the Soviet-aided projects despite the heavy investment on Communist engineers.

Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in the *Discovery of India* that "the three fundamental requirements of India, if she is to develop industrially and otherwise, are a heavy engineering and machine-making industry, scientific research institutes and electric power."

The best bait of Nehru was foreign assistance from both camps for solving the problem of poverty. He forgot the advantages of small plants which Gandhi advocated ; gigantism which is both the American and Russian disease infected him and he

put up grandiose show-pieces with foreign assistance—none of which contributes anything to the flow of goods and services demanded by the common people.

In terms of production and economic growth, India is, according to a special study by the Economic and Scientific Research Foundation in London, 20 years behind Brazil, 40 years behind Japan, 45 years behind Britain and 53 years behind the U.S.A. Except for a marginal improvement, the Foundation points out, the gap has not been reduced since independence.

Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, M. P., has observed in his book *Nehru : The Gentle Colossus*: "Most of the battle for Parliamentary democracy in India was fought on the political plane, for instance, the fight for votes for all, votes for women and the gradual widening of the franchise till it becomes adult franchise. Political change by itself was soon understood to be not enough, and there has been an advance to the plane of economic democracy and the ideal of complete equality of opportunity. In other countries real full-blooded political democracy came after a good deal of education had spread, because of the economic revolution and all that which had prepared the ground for it, which had added to the resources of the country and thereby made it easier to fulfil the demands made by the people in those countries. We have taken a huge jump to 100 per cent political democracy, without the withal to supply the demand which a politically conscious electorate makes. There is a hiatus now between desires and their non-fulfilment and all our political life is really concerned with how rapidly to bridge this gulf, this hiatus."

Franchise has given the poorer section of the community an awareness of their power and they are bringing the organised pressure of a popular movement, a form of revolutionary struggle on the existing social structure. Marxist parties are rousing urban and rural labourers to an irrational anger that prefers destruction to growth that gives employment to them. In West Bengal, businessmen, executives and small industrialists have been targets of hate campaign and *gheraos*.

American foreign aid was conceived as a vital instrument of American foreign policy and consequently our policy has been powerfully influenced by the volume and the terms of the foreign aid we have received. There are people who think foreign aid has thus eroded India's sovereignty.

The United States has its own doubts now about the efficiency of foreign aid as a weapon to combat Communism.

Western economists have pointed out that in the next few years, aid-receiving countries will be paying more in the way of debt servicing and repayments than they get in the form of foreign aid; that a reverse flow of 'aid' will set in from the poor to the rich countries. Foreign aid has been much more expensive from that point of view in economic and to some extent political terms than it need have been. Foodgrain imports under P.L. 480, for instance, may appear favourable to us because it helped us in fighting food scarcity and we pay for them in rupees instead of in dollars. But P.L. 480 grain is carried to India in the United States ships at freight rates estimated to be three times higher than normal competitive rates. Apart from this direct loss, we lose indirectly by the denial of fair opportunities for Indian ships to carry goods meant for Indian consumption. More than one Western author have calculated that the United States aid to India is worth at the most one-third of the amount shown in the books. The total of nine billion dollars provided by the United States is thus worth no more than two or three billion dollars.

While the country suffers from the confusion and imbalances of mixed economy, the Soviet attitude has also started hardening.

During the last eighteen years of planning, there has been strengthening of monopolistic and oligarchic formation of industry and banking in India. In 1965, according to the Monopolies Enquiry Commission, 75 leading big business houses in India had among them about 46.9 per cent of the assets of all non-governmental, non-banking companies.

As a competitive public sector, government units have not also proved to be models for private enterprises. The dynamics of public sector, it is alleged, has worked in the direction of strengthening of private monopoly capital.

Private enterprises include about 70 million farm households in the country and about 80,00,000 persons engaged in trade and commerce—from the shoeshine boy on city pavements to the small shopkeeper in the remotest village in India; lawyers, doctors, chartered accountants, journalists and other professionals and those employed in some 26,000 joint-stock companies in India.

During the past 15 years over 2,500 joint ventures with foreign collaboration have been set up in India. Foreign investors are afraid of state regulations and insist on creation of a favourable climate for greater participation.

Mrs. Gandhi devalued the rupee by 57.5 per cent in June, 1966, under the pressure of America, and gave her the benefit of unequal exchange. But then the Soviet Union started having its doubts about the ruling Congress party and identified the Indian pattern of socialism as mere democratic social reforms within capitalist development.

Mrs. Gandhi, in order to please the Soviet Union, split the Congress, sacked the pro-U.S. lobby in the Cabinet to look a real socialist.

To counter the growth of interests of monopoly big business in private enterprises, Mrs. Gandhi by a surprise announcement on July 19, 1969, took over fourteen commercial banks in the country.

These fourteen banks had deposits amounting to Rs. 27,204 million.

This, along with Rs. 10,526 million in the State Bank of India and Rs. 2,992 million in its seven subsidiary banks, all

of which are under Government control, places 83.6 per cent of the country's entire credit potential at the disposal of the administration.

The measure left in private hands only some commercial scheduled banks, with deposits in the order of Rs. 4,917 million.

The Rs. 40,522 million which came into the hands of the socialist-oriented Government made many enthusiasts dream of loans to be doled out to the poor people, based on their needs, irrespective of the security they could furnish.

This nationalisation and other proposals to extend the sphere of State ownership of the economy, viz. general insurance, import trade etc. have created doubts among a section of the people at home and abroad about the future of private enterprises in India.

The number of public sector units (central) in India has risen from 5 at the beginning of 1951 to more than 90 concerns now with a total investment of Rs. 4,000 crores showing losses of Rs. 380 crores despite government patronage and monopoly. Nationalisation was originally thought of as a means to create a socialist society. But in India as in many other countries this has merely led to bureaucratisation and inefficiency. Lord Attlee said that even if everything were nationalised, it would not result in a socialist society.

The economics of politics have no vested interest in efficiency.

My visit in June last year to some U.S. aided projects in Eastern India revealed to me how aid-giving countries in their eagerness to build an India of their image seek to increase India's dependence on them.

Lenin's aphorism that electricity plus Soviet is socialism has now demonstrably proved that power is the categorical imperative in the onward march of a developing economy. We

have obtained massive grants and loans from the U.S.A.—Rs. 334.50 crores (\$ 446 million) in foreign exchange and Rs. 349 crores in Indian currency—to produce this power in an enormous quantity.

Of the power projects, the thermal power station at Chandrapura with a capacity of 420,000 kw. is the largest one in India. Power produced here is noticeably boosting industrial production in Bihar and West Bengal. The aid here has been to the tune of Rs. 30.98 crores in foreign exchange and Rs. 16.60 crores *in rupees*, both loans. Chandrapura power has helped electrify the Railway track from Calcutta to Mughalserai.

I had a pleasant evening with the Indian engineers running it. In their club we discussed their problems. We found most of them resentful because they felt they were stagnating without any scope whatever for promotion in the DVC (Damodar Valley Corporation). Their future is blocked. The psychological consequence of it is that labour productivity is flagging. Little wonder, there is uninterrupted brain drain from India.

For power generation, low-grade coals are being utilised, and coal washeries have been integrated with central thermal power stations. Both of these have been great achievements in India's national economy.

In the last two decades, ever since India gained independence, the most challenging task of the Indian coal industry has been to meet the increasing demand for metallurgical coal for production of iron and steel.

Throughout this period, development of ferrous metallurgy has been given high priority in India. Thus, while the demand for good quality metallurgical coal has shown a steadily upward trend, the extremely limited and localised reserves of superior grade coking coal have been dwindling constantly, making the supply position all the more acute. Large-scale beneficiation of high-ash coking coals had, therefore, to be introduced for the

solution of the problem and to support the indigenous iron and steel industry.

With careful planning and choice of equipment the problem of upgrading high-ash Indian coals, which was once considered to be indifferent to washing, is now being tackled successfully on a commercial scale—a striking achievement of the Central Fuel Research Institute (CFRI), Dhanbad.

Normally, 30-40 per cent of the coal fed to the Dugdah Coal washeries are recovered as middlings and rejects, often with less than 50 per cent inerts, which in view of their carbon enrichment have been termed as by-product fuels.

The Chandrapura plant located near the Dugdah washeries, consumes these by-product fuels. The CFRI has developed an inexpensive technique to convert plus 13 mm. middlings to smokeless domestic fuels. Fuel for home is a major problem in India.

In our talks the Director of CFRI stressed the need for supply of smokeless fuel for the rural and urban population as one of national urgency. In Calcutta as much as 600 tons of smoke (soot and tar) are deposited per square mile leaving aside what floats in the atmosphere. It is 1,000 tons in Tala and Howrah. People of Calcutta will soon be choked unless they use smokeless fuel, the Director fears. The majority of our population live in villages. They depend largely on timber and cowdung as fuel resources. It is estimated that the annual felling of trees for providing domestic fuel amounts to about 12 years' growth of timber. The effect of this on soil erosion, which leads to floods and impoverishing of soil, can well be imagined.

The US Department of Agriculture is financing as many as six research schemes at the Kharagpur Indian Institute of Technology, the total grant amounting to nearly Rs. 14 lakhs.

The Ford Foundation also provided funds worth \$ 5,17,000-

to strengthen post-graduate education and research in agricultural engineering and related fields.

I.I.T. boys in Kharagpur have been entrusted with another very important function, i.e., of training persons for running a modern rice mill, by the Government of India.

Now, India's present production of paddy is about 60 million tonnes or 36 million tonnes of rice. For the last 30 years we have not been self-sufficient in rice. We need 90 million tonnes of paddy to give our people two square meals a day.

There are two ways of achieving this. One is by raising the paddy yield by using high-yielding varieties. The other, and definitely the better, way is to adopt improved methods and equipment for processing, storing and handling paddy and rice. Out of 100 kg. of paddy, we can obtain 70 to 72 kg. of rice with Modern Rice Mill and the breakage will be less than 5 per cent. Seven such mills have been imported—four from Japan, two from West Germany and one from East Germany.

The Tata Engineering and Locomotive Co. (TELCO), which produces steam locomotives, automobiles and excavators, has received the US loan totalling Rs. 19 crores for importing plant and equipment from the U.S.A.

What is disquieting is the trials and tribulations that most of the foreign-aided projects have been experiencing for want of foreign exchange required for importing essential maintenance equipment and spare parts.

Our discussion with the Board of Directors of TISCO highlighted some of the acute problems that the steel industry is facing in this country.

Export of steel involves a loss in spite of the cash subsidy given by the Government on export.

The steel company has got 300 cranes inside the works which are put to heavy use and need regular maintenance. Spare parts which are not locally manufactured are to be imported to keep them in working condition. Moreover, new cranes are also to be imported to replace the old ones. Normally, the life of a crane is estimated at 15 years but the company is compelled to use a crane for over 20 years because of exchange shortage. Taking the average life of a crane as 20 years at least 15 cranes need to be replaced every year. Foreign exchange granted to the company for importing cranes is not enough to buy even one a year. And, even this small allotment takes ten months to get as the application has to go through various Government departments for clearance.

Regarding the import of equipment, the major problem is the consistent increase in price of items in world markets. By the time clearance is given to import a material, the price of the said item goes up and a fresh application has to be made to pay the increased cost. The long and arduous procedure of clearance is mainly responsible for pushing up the cost of import bills.

Even in the case of substitution of imports with indigenous material, the company faces the problem of increased cost. Most of the indigenous material which the company buys in place of foreign equipment cost 40 to 50 per cent more than their imported counterparts. This price has to be paid to encourage the indigenous manufacturers.

The official delay in sanctioning the import of an item costing Rs. 70,000 forced the company to spend Rs. 7 lakhs to keep a particular unit going till the time the item in question could be obtained from the foreign market. For want of parts which were not made in this country, an engine could not be operated and to keep the mill working seven locally made engines were bought at a cost of Rs. 1 lakh each. The roundabout way of processing import applications causes such unwarranted expenditure. The application is first processed by the DGTD, (Director-General, Trade & Development),

then it goes to the Capital Goods Committee for clearance and, at last, to the CCI (Chief Controller of Imports), for the issue of a licence. Normally, this process takes anything up to 10 months. According to the procedure laid down by the Government if nothing concrete comes out of an application in six months' time, a fresh application has to be made to the DGTD which means going through the same ordeal all over again.

To encourage import substitution, the Government has made out a procedure under which requirements of machinery costing over Rs. 7.5 lakhs are to be advertised in the Trade Journal so that local manufacturers can take note of this and quote their prices. If no local manufacturer responds to the advertisement within three months, the company is free to make an application for the import of the same item. Instances have been many when the company after going through this procedure and finding no local response, applied for import twice and was told by the DGTD why specific approach was not made to individual manufacturers, like HEG or the Mining and Allied Machinery Corporation. Instances are also not wanting when DGTD had prodded such manufacturers to quote for items which they do not manufacture at all.

The companies have no choice but to deal with these bureaucratic whims, and submit to their dictates.

With regard to import of equipment under the US aid, the problem is that the import should be of certain value, say, \$ 10,000 and most of the items needed are of smaller value, and so this credit could not be availed of. So foreign credits, allotted to other firms, are lying unused, and there is no procedure to make these unused credits available to firms that badly need exchange to meet their imports.

While the TISCO is fighting its problems courageously and the U.S.A. can justifiably pat its own back for the liberal help it has given to India there are certain distressing factors about the foreign aid. India was wrong in buying plants from foreign countries instead of obtaining patent rights of the process drawing.

In that case, we could have created the plants ourselves in co-operation with foreign firms bringing in know-how and trained personnel.

Again, we have purchased plants from different countries and, therefore, the maintenance equipment are not standardised.

With all their modernity, the steel and power plants in India today stand as witnesses of our growing dependence on foreign countries, be they capitalist or Communist.

12 | MARXIST PANORAMA

Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.

—The Bible

* * * * *

The Law of Evolution is the principle governing all life and growth. It is the cause of the breaking down which we see going on around us. This breaking down, a modern cycle of which began in 1914, will go on until those things which have been hindering the spiritual progress of man have been removed and the ground is ready for building the new structure (the social, educational, religious, and economic systems) through which man will, in time to come, express himself and progress.

*—Norman Gregor in *Whither Man?**

According to the Marxist philosophy, the process of thinking is nothing but the material world reflected on the human mind and translated into forms of thought. Marxist evaluation of personalities and facts of history, it appears, also change in response to contemporary needs and the material situation.

Stalinism was banished from the Kremlin after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU early in 1956, gigantic movement started under the leadership of Khrushchev to erase Stalin's name from the pages of Communist history.

The history of the Soviet Communist Party, published in 1962 in the regime of Khrushchev, portrayed Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin as a sort of villain and dwelt on the harmful effects of his personality cult on the Party and Soviet society. A large segment of the Communist world, including China, however, still holds Stalin a "big theoretician and organiser". This sentiment found an echo in the new edition of the CPSU history which came out in 1969. It has either deleted or modified the portions about the blunder, mistakes, miscalculations, violation of Soviet democracy, isolation from reality and economic mismanagement with a view to partially rehabilitating Stalin.

The new history reduces Khrushchev, whose wit and gift of repartee once enlivened life in the Kremlin, to an incidental name and omits the fact that the Twenty-second Congress of the Party decided to remove Stalin's body from Lenin's mausoleum in Red Square.

The part of Lenin's testament suggesting that Stalin be removed from the post of General Secretary of the Party, remains but a passage in the history of Stalin's failure to mend himself in pursuance of Lenin's criticism; his breaking a pledge to the Central Committee of the Party that he would change his ways, is omitted.

The list of the anti-Party group of 1957 mentioned in the

old edition included Vyacheslav Molotov, Georgi Malenkov and Lazar Kaganovich whom Khrushchev had ousted. The new edition omits some names from the list. Although blames are still apportioned to Stalin, most of them have been shifted to Lavrenti Beria, head of the Secret Police from 1938 till his execution in 1953.

The new edition has discovered the dirty hand of Beria behind the purges in which thousands died and millions were sent to prison. It also omits the statement in the old one that Stalin seized upon the Kirov murder "to begin dealing summarily with people who did not suit him. . . . This was the beginning of wholesale repressive measures and the most flagrant violations of socialist legality."

More than 16 years after his death, *Pravda*, the organ of the CPSU, observed the ninetieth birthday of Stalin on December 21, 1969, and published an article which paid the following tribute :

"In the years when J. V. Stalin was General Secretary of the Central Committee, the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party and its Central Committee, carried out a task of colossal world-historic significance and difficulty, that of the socialist repatterning of the country—industrialisation, the collectivisation of farming and the advancement of culture. In these self-same years the Soviet people accomplished, under the Party's leadership, their important exploit in the Great Patriotic War against Fascist Germany.

"As a major theoretician and organiser, J. V. Stalin, along with other leaders of the Party, directed the struggle against the Trotskyites, Right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists. By his theoretical works and practical activity Stalin made an important contribution to the ideological and political struggle against the enemies of Leninism."

Referring to the mistakes of Stalin which assumed a serious dimension in later years, the article says:

"Stalin committed theoretical and political mistakes which

in the last period of his life acquired a dire character.

"In the years when V. I. Lenin stood at the head of the Party and the principles of collective leadership were strictly observed, Stalin's mistakes could not receive further development. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who had an excellent knowledge of the Party's leading cadres, exerted a beneficial influence on them, moulded their best traits and promptly criticised their shortcomings from points of principle. In his well-known *Letter to the Congress* Lenin furnished a comprehensive characterisation of a number of Central Committee members, including Stalin. Considering him an outstanding Party figure, Vladimir Ilyich at the same time proposed thinking about appointing to the office of General Secretary of the Central Committee another comrade, who 'differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc.' (*V. Lenin, Collected Works*, Vol. 45, p. 346). The leader of the Party emphasised that these negative features of Stalin, who had concentrated great authority in his hands, could assume decisive importance.

"At the 13th Party Congress, which was convened after Lenin's death in a situation marked by the sharp exacerbation of the struggle against Trotskyism, this letter was discussed by the delegations. Taking into consideration Stalin's important role in repulsing the attacks on Leninism and his authority in the Party and hoping that he would take Lenin's critical remarks into account, the delegates favoured retaining Stalin in the office of General Secretary of the Central Committee.

"In the initial years of work without Lenin, Stalin counted with his criticism. However, later he gradually began to back away from the Leninist principles of collective leadership and norms of Party life, exaggerated his own services in the achievements of the Party and the entire Soviet people, and thought himself infallible. As a result there were facts of the unjustifiable limitation of democracy and gross violations of socialist legality and unfounded reprisals against prominent Party, government and military figures and other cadres.

"On the eve of the Great Patriotic War, J. V. Stalin, taking a leading part in the Party's strenuous effort to consolidate the country's defence potential, definitely miscalculated in assessing the time of a possible attack by Hitlerite Germany on the USSR. In his capacity as Chairman of the State Defence Committee and Supreme Commander-in-Chief, in the process of the war he did much to direct the Soviet Armed Forces, organised the hinterland and rallied together and mobilised the entire people to defeat Fascism. After the end of the war, when the country was faced with highly acute problems of restoring and developing the economy, Stalin, along with positive measures, not infrequently took decisions, all by himself, that the country's economic needs did not call for."

In an editorial *The New York Times* rightly commented that Stalin's "restless ghost, still unexorcised, continues to haunt the Kremlin."

Not only in relation to its own leaders, the Soviet Union has also been amazingly double-faced in its attitude to Indian leaders—Gandhi and Nehru—at one time damning and at another extolling them. About Gandhi, the great scientist, Albert Einstein, said: "Generations to come will scarce believe that such a one as this ever walked in flesh and blood upon this world."

Here are some comments by other celebrities: "I have met Lenin, Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Stalin, Litvinov, Einstein, Lloyd George and many other famous people. But I have never met a more remarkable man than Gandhi." (The famous journalist, Louis Fisher).

"When I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life, he speaks his word, he suffers, strives and will some day nobly die for his kingdom upon earth." (John Haynes Holmes).

"From my background I gained my regulating Christian ideals. From Gandhi, I learned my operation techniques." (Martin Luther King).

Even Dr. Ho Chi Minh in a message on the occasion of the Gandhi centenary celebration said: "We may be revolutionaries but we are all disciples of Mahatma Gandhi; no more, no less."

But the great *Soviet Encyclopaedia* describes Mahatma Gandhi as the author of a "reactionary doctrine closely connected with national bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords. They allied themselves with the imperialists against the people, they saw the main enemy within their own people but at the same time tried to exploit the national liberation movement in order to wring concessions from the imperialists."

The most sardonic is the following quotation: Gandhi was a "traitor to the Indian people, who helped the imperialists to suppress the Indian revolution after the Second World War. He was one of the initiators of the plot by which the leaders of the Congress Party together with the English imperialists in 1947 divided their country into two dominions—India and Pakistan. The reactionary bourgeois group of landlords who came to power in India in 1947 exploited Gandhism for the ideological disarmament of the masses. The Indian capitalists and landlords diffused Gandhism and thus undertook a policy of terror on the widest scale against the popular masses, who are fighting for true national independence and the social liberation of the people of India." (*Bol'shya Soviet Skay Entsiklopedia*, Vol. 10, Moscow, 1952).

In contrast, in his evaluation of the Russian Revolution, Mahatma Gandhi had written in *Young India* (November 15, 1928): "Bolshevism... aims at the abolition of the institution of private property. This is only an application of the ethical ideal of non-possession in the realm of economics and if the people adopted this ideal of their own accord or could be made to accept it by means of peaceful persuasions, there would be nothing like it. . . . It is my firm conviction that nothing enduring can be built on violence. But be that as it may, there is no questioning the fact that the Bolshevik ideal has behind it the purest

sacrifice of countless men and women, who have given up their all for its sake; an ideal that is sanctified by the sacrifice of such master spirits as Lenin cannot go in vain, the noble example of their renunciation will be emblazoned for ever and quicken and purify the ideal as time passes."

It is said if Gandhi has been given a different image in the Russian eye it is none but Indian Communists who are responsible for it. Professor R. Ulyanovsky's preface to the Moscow edition (1969) of Gandhi's autobiography is a remarkable Soviet contribution to the understanding of Gandhi and Gandhism. The professor is a distinguished scholar of the Soviet Union. He writes that in the earlier Soviet "investigation", if there were "mistake" and "somewhat one-sided approach", the main responsibility for the "error" should devolve on "India's consistent progressives, its revolutionaries, the champion of scientific socialism" rather than on Soviet scholars. Indian Communists failed to give adequate appreciation to the actual anti-imperialist and anti-feudal mass movements linked with Gandhi's name.

In referring to Indian Communists who influenced Russian thinking on Indian personalities, the Russian professor could have had in his mind none but M N Roy.

After the October Revolution, Indian revolutionaries living in exile turned to Moscow because it provided a pattern for rebuilding a new world.

Lenin kept very close contacts with revolutionaries like M N Roy, Raja Mahendra Pratap, Obeidullah Sindhi, Barkatullah, Abani Mukherjee, Shaukat Osman, Dr Bhupendra Nath Dutt.

M. N. Roy, a fire-brand revolutionary hailing from a West Bengal village of 24 Parganas, left home in search of foreign arms to liberate India and via Indonesia, Japan and the USA reached Mexico. Roy founded the first Communist Party outside Russia in Mexico.

Lenin sent Borodin to bring Roy to Moscow to attend the Second Congress of the Comintern as a fraternal delegate. Lenin left his chair to receive Roy at the Kremlin and admiringly said, "You are so young! I expected a grey-bearded wise man from the East!" Roy was then only 25 years old

On July 25, 1920, in a packed Kremlin Hall before a galaxy of world revolutionaries, Lenin and Roy began the debate on Gandhi and the future of the national liberation movement

In *My Memoirs* Roy writes "The role of Gandhi was the crucial point of difference Lenin believed that as the inspirer and leader of a mass movement he (Gandhi) was objectively revolutionary I maintained that as a religious and cultural revivalist, Gandhi was bound to be socially reactionary, however revolutionary he might be politically"

In Roy's opinion Gandhi's movement was diverting the masses from the revolutionary methods of struggle, and hence, was objectively reactionary

It seems that M N Roy's thesis and argument later enormously influenced Marxist polemics And as a result, currently in West Bengal there have been sudden spurts of violent activities in universities and other educational institutions against Gandhi and Gandhian philosophy

More than twenty years after the tragic death of Gandhi, a world-wide evaluation of Gandhism began in 1969 in the Gandhi centenary year Gandhi experimented with non-violence as an effective substitute for destructive weapons. He led a parallel movement involving a vast mass of people with constant emphasis on non-violence in thought and action in contrast to major political upheavals, with their equally consistent record of violence, brutality and terror of Bolshevism in the USSR, Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy.

Before Gandhi's arrival on the Indian political scene it

had been the city-bred urban intellectuals who monopolised the leadership of the national movement. It was Gandhi who first awakened the masses—peasants, workers and the rural and urban middle classes—who represented the real nation to take their political destiny in their own hands and inspired them with self-confidence. It was really the onslaught of the repeated political mass struggles of the Indian people and the impact of the direct mass action by Gandhiji launched in 1921, 1930-32 and 1942 which shook the foundation of the British empire in India. We should not overlook the fact that the I.N.A. movement and the Naval Mutiny of 1946 were also the overflow of the main stream released by Gandhiji. He transformed the Congress into a political organisation for mass resistance against constituted authority.

A dynamic and creative element in the country's political movement was Gandhiji's contribution to the Indian political scene.

In connection with the Gandhi centenary the Soviet people along with 87 other nations started studying the life and work of Gandhi with profound seriousness. Dr. E. N. Kamarov of the USSR Academy of Science wrote: "Lenin and Gandhi were allies because the Russian revolution and the Indian national liberation movement were allies in the struggle for a better future for mankind." Dr. Kamarov also recalled that "as early as in 1896, Swami Vivekananda expressed the idea which proved to be prophetic, that it was from Russia that a future revolution would come and usher in a new era, the era of 'the power of the *Sudras*,' that is, of the working people."

Professor R. Ulyanovsky wrote: "A strong and distinguishing feature of Gandhism as an ideology and practical politics is its loyalty to national, cultural, historical and religious traditions, its ability to find in these traditions, slogans, memories and images that appeal to the peasant and the artisan, its ability convincingly to link up the spiritual life of the peasant and the artisan with the requirements of the country's independent development and social change as tens of millions of ordinary people understand them."

"This loyalty to national tradition and ideas about an equitable life is the secret of the tremendous influence which Gandhi's ideas and personality exerted on the Indian people.

"The most important features of Gandhism, stemming from its close tie with, mainly, the peasant traditions of Indian society, are the social ideal, *Sarvodaya* (the welfare of all), and the method of achieving this, through *Satyagraha* (non-violent struggle)."

Prof. Ulyanovsky in his analysis specifically says that "Gandhi did not intend to deceive or ensnare the popular masses when he linked up the struggle against colonialists with the attainment of *Sarvodaya*. He was perfectly honest and sincere".

In conformity with the Soviet stand, not only Gandhi but also the approach of the Indian Communists towards the 'Left' group of the Indian National Congress was hostile. The Draft Platform of Action of the Communist Party of India in 1930 stated that "the most harmful and dangerous obstacle to the victory of the Indian revolution is the agitation carried on by the 'Left' elements of the National Congress, led by Jawaharlal Nehru, Bose and others ; . . . The exposure of the 'Left' Congress leaders is the primary task of our party."

Jawaharlal Nehru paid three visits to the Soviet Union : first in 1927, and then in 1955 and 1961 as Prime Minister of India. Nehru thoroughly studied the works of Marx and Lenin, which substantially influenced his views. His first opportunity to see the "country of the hammer and sickle, where the workers and peasants sit on the thrones" came when Jawaharlal, together with his father Motilal was invited by the USSR Society For Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries to attend the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution in November 1927.

On November 7, Jawaharlal, his father, wife and sister set foot on Soviet soil for the first time.

Invitations were also sent to other Indian leaders and political organisations, such as the workers and peasant parties of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and Rajputana. These invitation letters were intercepted by the British Government and were not delivered to the addressees.

The then leader of the Bengal Swarajya Party and Mayor of Calcutta, J. M. Sen Gupta, also an invitee, cabled to Moscow, expressing his regrets that he could not go to the USSR because of the obstacles put forth by the British colonial authorities. He expressed the hope that the union of Russia with Asia and the resolute struggle against imperialism and capitalist exploitation would result in the real emancipation and genuine unity of mankind.

The Soviet Press hailed Jawaharlal as an "outstanding fighter against imperialism and colonialism."

Jawaharlal, after his return to India, wrote a book, entitled *Soviet Russia*. "Russia interests us", he wrote, "because it may help us find some solution for the great problems which face the world today. It interests us specially because conditions there have not been, and are not even now, very dissimilar to conditions in India. Both are vast agricultural countries with only the beginning of industrialisation, and both have to face poverty and illiteracy. If Russia finds a satisfactory solution for these, our work in India is made easier". Nehru arrived at the conclusion that the only key to the solution of Indian problems was socialism.

He began to popularise socialist ideas from the platform of the Indian National Congress. Nehru declared he wanted Indian independence not merely because he hated "alien domination" but "even more because for me it is the inevitable step to social and economic changes."

Prof. Hiren Mukherjee writes in his book *The Gentle Colossus* that "Nehru was attached to Communism specially as he noted tremendous changes taking place in Russia, but he was already somewhat repelled by the aggressiveness and intolerance

of Communists whom he had encountered in Moscow in November 1927."

Nehru was branded by the Soviet Union as a lackey of imperialism in 1949. The Soviet Weekly, *New Times*, wrote in 1949: "Chiang Kai-shek's place is now vacant and has been offered to Nehru. Such flattering notice by the imperialist powers who have set their hopes on India in the struggle against the national liberation movement in Asian countries bodes nothing good for the people of this land."

The *Soviet Encyclopaedia* (Vol. 29, Moscow, 1954) in a short biography of Nehru writes: "Nehru is the author of several books on international questions and the national liberation movement in India, as well as of the brochure, *Soviet Russia*, written after his visit to the Soviet Union in 1927."

A Soviet journal called the Nehru Government "an Indian variant of bourgeois pseudo-democracy," and termed his foreign policy "manoeuvres of the Indian reactionaries".

But three years before the death of Stalin, Soviet hostility towards Nehru softened and grew warmer after Stalin's death.

In 1955, an editorial in *Pravda* on January 26 (India's Republic Day) not only praised the foreign policy of "the outstanding statesman Jawaharlal Nehru" but went on to list and praise the domestic accomplishment of the Nehru Government in the fields of agriculture, consumer goods production, education and public health. In 1955, Nehru paid a visit to the Soviet Union, and in November, Khrushchev and Bulganin returned the visit. Thereafter Russians were so full of admiration for Nehru that at the Moscow Exhibition of 1965 they put up a red banner with the inscription: "Nehru's life and activities are parallel to those of Lenin."

In 1938, Indian Communists had gone the length of giving full support to Subhas Chandra Bose as a candidate

for the Congress Presidency against Mahatma Gandhi's nominee. They advocated Subhas Bose's policy that the imperialist war be countered by a war of liberation and insisted that the time had come to begin the struggle against British colonialism. But with Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the CPI's policy changed abruptly with Moscow's direction to it to support British war efforts. And the Communist Party of India condemned Netaji's alliance with the Axis powers in furtherance of India's armed struggle for independence.

Believing that British adversity was India's opportunity, Subhas C. Bose secretly left India in 1940 and eluding Britishers reached Berlin *via* Kabul. He accepted aid from Hitler but not his command.

Between December 1941 and mid-1942 Malay, Singapore, Burma, Dutch East Indies and the Philippines fell to the Japanese. Netaji made the historic and dramatic dash to Singapore and soon organised the legendary *Azad Hind Fouz* (Indian National Army) to win India's war of independence. Netaji—the prince of patriots—set foot on Indian soil at Moirang (Manipur) but had to retreat, and vanished from the sight of Indians only to remain for ever in their hearts.

The insult implicit in the Communist abuse of Netaji as a Quisling and a Fascist made little impression on patriotic Indian minds during the war. In India as well as in South-East Asia, the people were under the heels of imperialists. The ruling powers of Europe had been routed and humiliated by an Asiatic power. People went into raptures at these victories. Netaji sought the help of Axis powers to march into India for her liberation and people felt sure that the situation was not different from that in which Lenin had sought the Kaiser's help to be smuggled to Russia in a sealed train in 1917 to bring a revolution there.

Netaji's contribution to Indian independence was immense. Mahatma Gandhi's 'Quit India Movement' was suppressed and Netaji's March to Delhi also ended at Imphal.

But the impact of the trial of the Indian National Army personnel upon the British Indian Armed Forces was disastrous. This quickened India's emancipation from British rule. British rule in India rested on Hindu-Muslim disunity and the loyalty of the Indian armed forces to the British Crown. Both these factors were greatly affected during 1945-1946 when the Indian masses were deeply stirred by the knowledge of the activities of the Indian National Army (INA) and the trial of the INA prisoners held in the Red Fort, Delhi. Both Hindus and Muslims shed blood on the streets of Calcutta in anti-British outbreaks as a protest against the INA trials. This also contributed to the revolt of the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy in February 1946 at Bombay.

General Auchinleck, who was the last British Commander-in-Chief in India, was asked at a London meeting, "Why did you leave India?" He replied: Discontent arose in the Indian Army. If we wanted the help of the British Army it could not go to India because at that time many families were in mourning after World War II. If we did not leave India then, a second Sepoy Mutiny would have broken out there.

Auchinleck's apprehension was not unfounded and the correctness of it was clearly recognised by Churchill's successor Attlee, and his Cabinet colleagues and they decided to quit. Ultimately this led to the transfer of power to Indian hands.

A Russian scholar, named Diatov, said in Calcutta that Russia did not consider Subhas Chandra Bose a Fascist, and that Stalin struck out Netaji's name from the list of war criminals which the British Premier, Churchill, had submitted to him. (*Desh*: Bengali Weekly, Feb. 28, 1963).

Mao Tse-tung told the 6th Plenary meeting of the CPC Central Committee: "Marxism must assume a national form before it can be applied." Trotsky also said that "the proletariat can only come to power by the aid of a national insurrectionary spirit." But in India Communism could not merge with nationalism into one stream and take root in the soil.

The great poet, Rabindranath Tagore, and author of "Russiar Chithi" was also at one time a target of severe criticism in Russia. But the "noble goals of world peace and happiness which were so dear to the heart of Rabindranath Tagore" were later on appreciated by the Soviet people and studies of Tagore's works have developed greatly in the USSR.

Tagore, in the eyes of men, is ranked with Gandhi as "Father of modern India". At the same time he has been called "India's greatest poet since Kalidasa." He was not a political creature, as such. Except for a short period between 1905 and 1908 when he worked with the Swadeshi movement, his politics was confined largely to the editorial page of a few journals, a few essays and letters of protest. Similarly, he was not only a poet. The brilliant impatient mind which had rebelled against formal schooling after the age of 12, found, to be sure, the greatest outlet for its protest and for its love of Man, Nature and God in poetry. Yet its owner was also a novelist, dramatist, essayist, historian, philosopher, singer, actor, painter and educator. His passionate and prolific pen introduced a renaissance in Bengali literature, provided the model for a whole school of Indian writers, and served as a catalyst of cultural and national consciousness.

Tagore illustrates a recurring phenomenon for us in India. India, prostrated by invasions, endlessly vacillating from greatness to decline, has always recovered her spirit by a built-in power of renewal. Whenever times have been out of joint and a general malaise has threatened the nation, the seers of the Upanishad, Buddha and Mahavira, Kabir and Nanak, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda have in their own times castigated us for our lapses and redirected us to our proper path. Tagore was aware of this and wrote: "I love India not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography, not because I have had the chance to be born in her soil, but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons." (*The Spirit of India*).

Many recognise Tagore as a man of world vision, and his

abhorrence of dictatorship, esteem for human dignity, and appeals for a cultural union and closer understanding between the East and the West fell on responsive ears. The universality of his appeal and the extent to which his influence has permeated the Soviet Union were made clear to me on one occasion. Once I was travelling from Helsinki to Leningrad. It was an overnight train journey and in the morning I discovered that the upper berth of the coupe was occupied by a young Russian scholar at Helsinki, who was going home on furlough. On learning that I was from Bengal he went into raptures and asked me if I could recite to him some verses written by Tagore in his own tongue. The rays of the morning sun had just entered through the glass-panes of the compartment and I recited to him some stanzas from *Nirjharer Swapnabhanga*.

The reaction was as immediate as it was unexpected. The young Russian scholar was so moved by the lilt and cadence of the verse that he repeated ecstatically, "what music! what music!" and carried away by his emotions, embraced me, kissed me with profuse gratitude.

On another occasion I was staying at the dormitory of Columbia University, New York. Responding to a midnight knock at the door, I let a young man in. He was very excited. He introduced himself as one Mr. Dhar from Kashmir and he was doing research there. He had become intimate with an American family and was courting the youngest daughter of the house. She, however, was very keen on Tagore of whom she had read and she wanted Mr. Dhar to quench her curiosity about the poet. Mr. Dhar, however, knew nothing of Tagore beyond his mere name and I spent the rest of the night telling him about the poet. I can only hope he was able to please the lady.

This brought me to a sad aspect of today's life. Many of the Indian youths do not read Tagore.

But from Communist Russia to capitalist America, the name of the poet evokes the same respect everywhere and thousands of miles away from home, one feels so proud of

being a compatriot of him. The changing face of the world after the World War II does not make Rabindranath any the less relevant. In his own life time he saw the world wade through seas of blood and oceans of tears, often more bitter than death, due to man's blindness and folly. Whenever civilisation dies it is due to causes which produce insensibility to human values. It goes down when our soul is deadened by greed and materialism. Yet Rabindranath never committed "the grievous sin of losing faith in man." It is neither an accident nor fate but it is our inefficiency that has got us where we are, we have to take the responsibility for the future, build a new society—rational, civilised and human—by destroying those springs of action which lie deep in human ignorance, hatred and selfishness.

Our only way of salvation from this mire of darkness and abyss is to open ourselves to the impact and influence and operation of the light of the eternal. To quote one of Tagore's songs:

*They stand with uplifted eyes,
 thirsty after light!
 Lead them to light, My Lord!
 They cannot see the paths
 in the twilight dark
 While the night of despair
 gathers before them.
 Those that are lost to themselves,
 seeking for the lodestar
 hidden in the depth of night,
 Bring back their sight
 to the world of forms,
 To the paths of the celestial light
 My Lord!*

APPENDIX

The following excerpts from The Chinese Cultural Revolution & Foreign Policy by Daniel Tretiak published in Current Developments in Mainland China (April 1, 1970, Vol. VIII No. 7) will explain how the Cultural Revolution turned out to be a struggle for the restoration of Chairman Mao's personal prestige and position when it appeared that high officials at home and abroad showed signs of a lessened susceptibility to Maoist ideological influence and more inclination to lower the level of hostility between China and the rest of the world.

The charges levelled against "China's Khrushchev" in May and June 1967 provide an indication of the conflicting influences of Mao and Liu on foreign policy-making in the years immediately preceding the Cultural Revolution.

There are indications that in this period many of Mao Tse-tung's colleagues were trying to ease him out of power and that he was launching schemes against them to restore his position. As part of this effort to trim Mao's sails, his opponents advocated internal and external policies antithetical to those of the Chairman.

While this line of analysis emerged primarily as a result of analyzing data with regard to internal policies, it is at least partially confirmed by Red Guard articles dealing with Liu Shao-chi's role in foreign policy decision-making as well.

Liu was charged with advocating the "Three Capitulations and One Extermination" (*san-hsiang i-mieh*) line in foreign policy. The "Capitulations" included "capitulation to imperialism headed by the US, to modern revisionism headed by the Soviet Union, and to the reactionaries of all countries"; by "one extermination," the Red Guards meant that Liu supported "exterminating the fire of the revolutionary struggle of the world's people."

Under the *san-hsiang i-mieh* rubric, Liu allegedly advocated a Chinese foreign policy line which would have had the effect of decreasing hostility toward and normalizing relations with major international powers. Thus, with regard to the US, Liu's statements were said to have revealed:

1. respect for the US power in general;
2. the feeling that neither China nor the US wanted a conflict in Vietnam;
3. a view that China could not attack Taiwan without drawing an American response; and
4. that Liu was even thinking "cooperating" with Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Government on Taiwan.

As for Sino-Soviet relations, Liu

1. suggested in October 1964 that the new leadership was an improvement over Khrushchev;

2. admitted that Soviet embassy personnel were ~~not~~ badly treated in China;
3. argued that the Soviet Union and not China was the main enemy of the US; and
4. added that "in the struggle with imperialism, we [China] would be united with you [Russia], we wouldn't do anything that would benefit imperialism."

The charges against Liu with regard to "capitulationism... to the reactionaries of all countries" were not specified, but seem to have been included in the "one extermination of the fire of the revolutionary struggle of the world's people." The thrust of these charges was that Liu questioned the efficacy of local Communists embarking on guerrilla warfare in such diverse areas as Latin America and India. He doubted whether Latin Americans would make the sacrifices necessary for launching successful struggles, and whether Indian Communists had sufficient hostility toward the authorities to want genuinely to make revolution. Furthermore, instead of urging foreign Communists to make preparations to launch guerrilla warfare regardless of their country's political climate, Liu urged that armed struggle be carried on mainly in reaction to suppression by the authorities. Finally, in the case of revolutionaries who had launched struggles which seemed to be winning, Liu was accused of pouring cold water on their efforts by warning: "If armed struggle is winning, US imperialism will intervene."

If these charges are valid, they would certainly imply a cleavage between Mao and Liu on matters of foreign policy (as well as, of course, domestic policy). But, unfortunately, until more information becomes available, it is not possible to be certain whether or not the majority of the Red Guard charges against Liu were valid. There is one exception to this reservation, however: in 1963, Liu visited Indonesia and made speeches which did appear in *Jen-min Jih-pao*. During and after the Cultural Revolution, this trip, more than any single Liu foray into the field of foreign policy, has been the subject of official and unofficial criticism.

The charges against Liu were:

1. While in Indonesia, Liu "didn't say a word about the fact that US imperialism was the most evil enemy of the world's people."
2. "Even with regard to American imperialism occupying our territory of Taiwan, he didn't say a word. ..."
3. Liu did not say anything about the current (1963) good shape of the Chinese economy nor about China's economic recovery after the Soviets left. Liu didn't talk about the "three red flags" and instead expressed some misgivings about the current shape of the Chinese economy.
4. Liu "basically did not bring up the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao"

5. With regard to the Maghindo Plan (for loose political cooperation between Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines), Liu told the Indonesian bourgeoisie, "You belong to the same race; you ought to unite."

6. a. Discouraged the Indonesian CP (PKI) to travel the revisionist road, eschewing armed struggle.

b. Liu also ignored the Indonesian communists.

7. Praised Sukarno highly, and was cordial to military leader Nasution and the Indonesian Police Inspector-General.

8. Liu downplayed the necessity of Communists to gain political power by means of armed struggle, emphasizing instead the feasibility of parliamentary means

My conclusion is that the charges against Liu are an amalgam of the true and the false in some cases, as far as can be determined, Liu said exactly what his detractors claimed he did not say, in other cases, there is evidence in the public record that Liu made the "mistakes" his *post facto* detractors accuse him of

A Translation by the Author of 'The Iron Proof of the Three Capitulations and One Extermination Foreign Relations Line Pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i'

(*Wai-shih Hung-ch'i* 14 June 1967, p 2)

[The introduction is hard to read, but it seems to suggest that Liu publicly opposed Mao's foreign policy line, as the following examples suggest. (Translator)]

The US is great and powerful, it is the greatest country in the world

(20 April 1965, in a talk with a friendship delegation from a certain country)

I have heard it said that in US factories it is very difficult to tell the difference between the factory manager, engineers, and workers, this is the democratic spirit of the bourgeoisie. When I was in the Soviet Union, it was even harder to tell the difference. Therefore, it ought to be like this in our factories

(25 April 1949, in a talk to the Staff of Tientsin national enterprises)

Among the US ruling clique, there are some rather enlightened people who are gradually recognizing that a war policy is not necessarily in the US interest.

(8th Congress of CCP—Political Report [1956])

The policy of peaceful coexistence does not exclude any country. By the same token, we have expectations of peacefully coexisting with the US.

(*Ibid.*)

The US already tested us in Korea; is it now thinking of coming up against us again in Southeast Asia? It is not.

(17 May 1964, when talking with the ambassador of a certain country.)

As I look at the US [in Vietnam]: China is unwilling to come [in], North Vietnam is also unwilling to do so; and in South Vietnam, it [the US] is even thinking of going. Its problem now is to leave and obtain some face, but it can't think of a way

(*Ibid.*)

The main enemy now of the US, the main opponent is still the Soviet Union, the number-one fear is the Soviet Union, it is not China.

(19 November 1963; a talk at the 4th enlarged congress of the members of the Philosophy and Social Science Department of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.)

The new Soviet leadership is 30 degrees [better?] than the previous one.

(October 1964; in a talk at meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee.)

Many people have gone to the Soviet Union and have written essays saying that the Soviet Union is now liberalized, that they appreciate the Soviet Union's material surplus saying that China now is Marxist-Leninist, saying that we are revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, that the Soviet Union is conservative Marxism-Leninism. We must pay attention to this, for they [the writers who make this contrast] are sowing discord in the unity between us and the Soviet Union.

(31st January 1960; talk at home with [his wife] Wang Kuang-mei.)

We can only have good relations with the Soviet comrades; we cannot have bad ones. If relations sour, [it will be because] instead of correctly sharing the load, the load was incorrectly placed [on the Soviet Union]

(Spoken at a meeting.)

I've heard it said Indian jails are very comfortable, and people are not killed [in them]; therefore, the people of that country do not think of revolution. When Nehru was in jail, his standard of living was very high. Now, the life of jailed Indian Communist Party people is very good. If jail is so comfortable, there can't be a revolution.

(22 April 1965; in a talk with nine comrades who victoriously returned from Brazil.)

It is not very easy for journalists who live abroad to foster good relations. For example, a journalist who lives in India wants to report news which is in India's interest, and he also wants to report some news, which from the point of view of the Indian government, is not definitely in its interest; it is necessary to exchange friendships. In order to get

news sources... [ellipsis in original] if a journalist living abroad gets into fights, he will step on his own feet; don't do a bad job by getting into a fight and then being expelled by the host government.

(28 May 1965; No. 1 directive on the work of Hsinhua News Agency.)

Here is one of the problems which we reckon exists in the international situation. Imperialism is not preparing for war against the socialist countries; their objective is to struggle for the middle zones, that is: Asia, Latin America, the Middle and Near East, Western Europe, England, and France.

(7 April 1959; a talk given on meeting with delegates from several countries.)

In foreign relations, we always carry out a firm peace policy, proposing the peaceful coexistence and friendly cooperation of all nations. We believe in the superiority of the socialist system, and we do not fear carrying on peaceful competition with capitalist countries.

(8th Party Congress, Political Report)

Now, the workers and peasants in Western Europe and North America are rising in revolution; if they don't revolt, what are they going to do? Furthermore, they are supporting imperialism, they praise colonies [colonialism?]; if they get rid of [unclear] the ghost of colonialism, the workers could get a few advantages.....

(Spoken on several occasions to foreign guests.)

After I returned home, I didn't want to spread propaganda about China, I didn't spread propaganda about the friendship between the two countries so as to avoid attacks from the reactionaries.

(1965; at the time of a talk in the Shanghai Building at a banquet for President XXX)

Glossary

BALFOUR DECLARATION

Named after A. J. Balfour, the then British Foreign Secretary in 1917, favouring the establishment in Palestine a national home for the Jewish people and protecting the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities living in Palestine.

BREST-LITOVSK TREATY

The peace treaty with Germany signed at Brest-Litovsk by the Soviet Government on March 3, 1918 was, according to Lenin, "incredibly, unprecedentedly hard to sign an unfortunate, immeasurably severe, infinitely humiliating peace when the strong has the weak by the throat." Under the terms, Russia ceded to Germany all its western territories of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and the Ukraine, which were largely inhabited by a population of 52 million of non-Russian people. In the situation of counter-revolutions, party-split, indiscipline and a mighty Germany at the door in the winter of 1917-18, Lenin could hardly do otherwise than conclude the peace "to gain a breathing space, during which it would be able to consolidate its position and advance to socialism." Lenin optimistically foresaw in the treaty the beginning of a German, and quickly of a world revolution, but in vain. It was the Allies winning a victory over Germany that the treaty was abrogated.

COLOMBO POWERS

Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and Pakistan who were thus known because they had met in Colombo and Kandy in April-May, 1954 to discuss defence in the region.

FINLANDISATION

Psychological subversive act as a result of which a country has to put itself into the "Soviet sphere of influence."

GUERRILLA

In Communist parlance it is a revolutionary war of the

masses organised by its armed nucleus, "The fighting vanguard of the people", according to Che Guevara.

HO-CHI MINH TRAILS

Viet Minh forces in order not to deploy its army into the South Vietnam for an effective attack took the strategic route leading from the North Vietnam through Laos and the uninhabited jungles of north-east Cambodia into the South Vietnam near Saigon. Instead of supporting Pathet Lao forces, Hanoi has begun to take charge of complete operations in Laos since 1963. Hanoi's policy is primarily to retain control of the Ho-chi Minh trails in order to inflict heavy losses on the enemy troops and to take cover across the international boundary, if counter-attacked by Vietnam and American troops.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The name was first given by Engels in 1844. During 1760-1840 Britain was transformed from mainly agricultural into a predominantly industrial country with the invention of steam engine and aided by exploitation of British colonies.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION

As a result of the Geneva Conference held in July 1954 to discuss the cessation of hostilities in Indo-China (Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam), the Commission was set up with Canada, India (as its Chairman) and Poland to effect by 11th August, 1954, complete armistice in Indo-China ; to neutralise Cambodia and Laos of Foreign troops—French and Viet Minh ; and to hold in July 1966 general election in both South and North Vietnam for their unification. Viet Nam was provisionally partitioned along the 17th parallel with Ho-chi Minh controlling in the North and Bao-Dai in the South of the demarcated line.

LONG MARCH

In November, 1931, the first Chinese Soviet Republic was proclaimed at Juichin in Kiangsi province by its Chairman Mao Tse-tung, which included more than 300,000 square miles of inhospitable and mountainous territory in South-central China.

Mao controlled its destiny until October, 1934, when the leader of the Nationalist Government, Chiang Kai-shek, with his German military advisers launched five ruthless campaigns of extermination against the communists. By astute leadership Mao mobilised the Red Army. The party leaders and their diehard followers, some 90,000 strong, set forth on the legendary 'Long March' for one year from Kiangsi to north-west Shensi—a distance of 6,000 miles—over the most difficult terrain in the world. Hungry, sick and exhausted, 20,000 survivors could reach the new base at Yen-an in Shangshi province. According to Chester Bowles, "It was an exploit which eventually turned retreat into victory." This tragic holocaust taught Mao to believe that communism was "not love but a hammer used to destroy the enemy and the revolution could not be carried out softly, gradually, carefully, considerably, respectfully, politely plainly and modestly."

McMAHON LINE

The line, accepted by the representatives of the Government of India, Tibet and China in a conference at Simla in 1913-14, demarcating the watershed boundary of NEFA (India) from its junction with Bhutan up to the Burma border, is called the McMahon Line.

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES

In his memorable book, *What Is To Be Done?*, Lenin emphasized that the Party was to consist of two sections: a narrow circle of 'wise men' known as political revolutionaries, irrespective of whether they were trained from among students or working men, and a broad network of local Party organisations to have the sympathy and support of the toiling masses. Lenin asserted that 'it is far more difficult to wipe out a dozen wise men than a hundred fools' and that 'no revolutionary movement can endure without stable organisation of leaders that maintains continuity'. In order to implant socialist consciousness which does not arise in the working-class movement spontaneously, a band of highly disciplined and professionally trained elite is necessary to direct and control the revolutionary movements.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

The draft of the inaugural address of the International Working Men's Association in October, 1864 by Karl Marx, stressed the immense importance of fraternisation of all the working people of various countries and urged them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles against imperialism. Lenin for the first time organised the international workers' solidarity for the revolutionary overthrow of imperialist powers and appealed for the creation of the solid, militant, revolutionary organisation of the world proletariat

SATTWA, RAJAS, TAMAS

"Sattwa attaches to happiness, Rajas to action and Tamas to negligence of error and inaction."—Sri Aurobindo.

SEATO

In 1954 at Manila, the pact was signed for collective defence in South-East Asia to fight against Communist aggression. The member countries of the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation are Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, U.K., and U.S.A.

TASHKENT (Declaration) AGREEMENT

On January 10, 1966 at Tashkent (Uzbekistan, USSR), the famous Tashkent Declaration was signed by the Prime Minister of India, Lal Bahadur Shastri and the President of Pakistan, Ayub Khan and both India and Pakistan agreed :

- (1) To withdraw all armed personnel not later than February 25, 1966 to the position they held prior to August 5, 1965 and observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line ;
- (2) To carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war ;
- (3) To base their relations on "non-interference in the internal affairs of each other" ;
- (4) To restore diplomatic, economic and trade relations, communications and cultural exchanges ;
- (5) To discourage propaganda directed against the other country and encourage such propaganda as promote friendly relations ;

- (6) To prevent the exodus of people, discuss the problems of refugees, eviction and illegal immigration and also discuss the return of property and assets taken over by either side.

The Declaration recorded deep feelings and gratitude to the Soviet people, leaders, the Soviet Government and particularly to the Soviet Premier, Alexei Kossygin, who arranged the conference.

THE PATHET LAO

The tiny Laos is the victim of leadership crisis of three royal princes—rightist Boun Oum, neutralist Souvanna Phouma and Communist Sourhanvong, who organised the Pathet Lao (The Free Laotian) forces on the Viet Minh lines and marched to besiege the Capital Luang Prabang in the beginning of 1954. The Geneva Conference of 1954 restored peace in Laos and the Pathet Lao forces were to move into two small North Laotian provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua until political issues were settled. Both the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao held elections in December 1955 and declared Laos a neutral country on December 31, 1956. Then followed another agreement on October 2, 1957, between the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao to respect integration of the Pathet Lao forces with the Royal Army; absorption of Pathet Lao civil servants in the Royal Administrative Service; recognition of the Pathet Lao political wing—Neo Lao Haksat Party and its participation in the elections and formation of a coalition government. In return, the Pathet Lao would transfer two of its provinces to the Royal Government. But nothing materialised. The Pathet Lao since then has boycotted all elections in Laos. Captain Kong Lee, erstwhile supporter of Prince Souvanna Phouma, joined the Pathet Lao and commanded a great victory in the plains of Jars with the help of Viet Minh and Chinese forces. In 1965, an important northern base Hong Mong fell to the Pathet Lao; Laos is now gripped in cold war and a settlement between the Pathet Lao and Royal Government is eluding.

UNITED FRONT

In the conditions of a political crisis when different orga-

nisations are struggling for what appears to be similar viewpoints and the same or similar objectives on behalf of the oppressed and underprivileged working masses, the tactical offer of the United Front is the most important thing. Under the cloak of the United Front it is easier for the Communist Party to reach the membership of other parties with a view to turning the agitational and organisational working masses against the leadership of their own parties by denouncing them as betrayers. The Communist Party endeavours to introduce United Front tactics in all spheres—a trade union or a cultural organisation, or in forming a Government.

WARSAW PACT

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